Daily Report

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Need for Successful GATT Talks Noted

LD1311085593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpts] A successful outcome of the worldwide free trade negotiations [GATT] is in the interest of the Visegrad Group of countries. The economic ministers of the four countries have met in Budapest. Kata Peli Nagy reports:

[Nagy] [passage omitted] The Visegrad Group of countries expect economic growth and jobs from the GATT negotiations. This is so important for them that the Polish minister of national economy said that in the event of failure they would want to fight to obtain favorable positions. Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy does not even rule out that failure in the GATT talks would create political tensions because of resulting unemployment problems. In addition the Czech minister would also like to see the dismantling of those trade barriers which still exist between the four countries. Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky said that his country expects a freer world trade to lead to a replacement for their lost eastern markets and economic underpinning for their national currency.

Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, said that according to preliminary estimates a successful conclusion of the GATT talks would bring a $270 billion profit to its members. This would make possible for the Visegrad Group of countries to increase their trade share from one percent to anything between five to seven percent.

Visegrad Group Share Common Economic Interests

LD1311223093 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov. 12—Visegrad group's foreign trade ministers assumed a joint attitude towards GATT for the first time at a Friday meeting in Budapest thus confirming that these countries have common economic interests and that their economies are open to the world.

The talks in Budapest allowed Poland, Hungary, the Czech and the Slovak Republics to present a common philosophy of approach to the liberalization of the world's trade.

"We want the Uruguay round to end in a success because we have more to gain than to lose," undersecretary of state in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation Andrzej Byrt told reporters.

At its Budapest meeting the GATT recognized the Visegrad group as a group having common economic interests and, at the same time, economic partners worldwide got a signal that countries linked with a free trade zone are equally interested in a timely conclusion of multilateral trade talks at the Uruguay round and in avoiding a new tension increase in international trade from which the intensification of protectionism might stem, said the Polish minister.

Byrt added that the Visegrad group stressed that with the openness of its economies to the world the group is interested in other countries opening their markets to products made in Eastern Europe.

Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, who is paying a visit to Hungary, opted for the necessity to coordinate Visegrad group foreign policy towards NATO during a Friday meeting with his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur.

Foreign Affairs Official on NATO Conference

AU1311173093 Budapest MTI in English 1817 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 12 November (MTI)—NATO's post-Cold War view of Eastern Europe was discussed in a closed conference "Democracy, Peace, and Security in the New Europe," in Budapest on Friday [12 November] with 35 participants, including NATO Secretary-General Manfred Worner.

Foreign affairs official Laszlo Kovacs told MTI, "contributors agreed that European security is indivisible and that NATO should respond in some ways to our region's security concerns. Westerners saw this region as more secure than those living here.

"It was also clear from the discussions that NATO has several options here, such as providing individual countries with separate security guarantees, as against a global approach supported by contributors saying any distinctions made by NATO in the region could spark a new wave of distrust and tension.

"People agreed that NATO should pay attention to Russia's needs, and it was also obvious that NATO has 16 member countries shaping NATO's position after their own interests," Kovacs said.

Plan for Settling Yugoslav Crisis Anticipated

LD1311220293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Brussels, November 13 (TANJUG)—European institutions in Brussels are working hard on preparing the final version of a plan for a global settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and gradual lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The plan, which is being prepared for the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the European Union on November 22, is based on the German-French initiative for a gradual lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in exchange for Bosnian Serbs' territorial concessions to the Moslem side in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The European Union has for the first time indicated from a high level that it is ready to consider the alleviation of the sanctions against Yugoslavia under condition that a solution be found for the remaining three or four percent of the territory demanded by the Bosnian Moslems and that a modus vivendi be found between the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Zagreb.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 in areas within Croatia's administrative borders where Serbs make up the majority population in reaction to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and the downgrading of their national and civil rights.

The conflict between the RSK and Croatia broke out three years ago when Zagreb refused to recognize the RSK. Since then, it has repeatedly attempted to impose its rule by force. In March 1991, the RSK territory was placed under the U.N. protection.

Diplomatic sources in Brussels say that the adoption of a peace plan for Bosnia, as the key element of a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis, is not possible without the consent of the Bosnian Moslem government.

Last September, Bosnian Moslems rejected the Geneva plan which proposed the republic's transformation into a union of three ethnic states (Moslem, Serb and Croat) which would have the right to leave the union if that proves in referendums to be the will of their citizens.

The Moslem intransigence is therefore making Europe's earlier unreserved supporters of Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic impatient and they have accused it of blocking a peaceful settlement.

Although Bonn's and Paris' dissatisfaction with Izetbegovic's hitherto attitude is becoming increasingly tengible, the documents prepared for the ministerial conference point out that peace does not mean a change of the external borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina or its end as a state.

The French-German scenario provides for the convening of a new international conference on former Yugoslavia after the restoration of peace in Bosnia. Among other things, it would also seek to define a certain level of autonomy for the multi-ethnic regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, i.e. its provinces of Kosovo- Metohija in the south and Vojvodina in the north, as well as the region of Raska in the eastern part.

Carpathian Euroregion Council Accepts New Members

AU1311180593 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Nov 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Will a Hungarian Replace a Pole?"]

[Text] Kosice—The Ukrainian districts of Lvov, Cernovec, and Ivanofrankovsk and the Hungarian district of Szolnok were accepted into the Carpathian Euroregion as regular members at the fifth session of the Carpathian Euroregion Council in Kosice. The Romanian districts of Satu Mare and Maramures were granted the statute of associate members.

At the moment, the individual Carpathian Euroregion countries are represented by the following districts: Bardejov, Presov, Humenne, Trebisov, Michalovce, Kosice-City, and Kosice-Environs from East Slovakia (there are no reservations against Roznava district's request for admission, but it has not yet been confirmed. The Poprad, Spisska Nova Ves, and Stara Lubovna districts are involved in the Tatra Euroregion); the Uzhorod-based Transcarpathian district, Lvov, Cernovec, and Ivanofrankovsk from Ukraine; districts with administrative centers in Miskovec, Nyiregyhaza, Debrecen, and Szolnok from Hungary; the Krosno and Przemysl Districts from Poland; and the associate members of Satu Mare and Maramures from Romania.

The last Carpathian Euroregion Council meeting this year will be held in Poland (in Krosno or Przemysl) at the end of December and a new general secretary will be elected for a further two-year term (at the moment, this post is held by Adam Peziol from Krakow in Poland). According to, so far, unofficial talks, the representative from north-eastern Hungary—where the new General Secretariat will be based—should, in all probability, be elected.

Czech, Slovakia, Slovenia Form Free-Trade Zone

LD1311141393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Excerpt] The creation of a free trade zone between the customs union of the Czech Republic and Slovakia on the one hand and Slovenia on the other was agreed yesterday [12 November] in Budapest by the three ministers in charge.

Vladimir Dlouhy, Jan Ducky, and Davorin Kracun resolved the remaining open trade issues concerning motorcars and the so-called white technology, that is refrigerators, ovens, and so on. [passage omitted]

Consulate Condemns Macedonia's 'Absurd Charges'

AU1211221493 Tirana RTSH Satellite Television Broadcast in Albanian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Communique from the Albanian Consulate in Skopje—read by announcer]

[Text] After the accusations and insinuations against the Republic of Albania related to a group of Macedonian citizens who are charged with smuggling arms and uniting violently to destroy the constitutional order, our consulate in Skopje has issued this communique:

"As regards support to stability and sovereignty of Macedonia, the policy of the Republic of Albania is known and confirmed. Every attempt to create political, party, or personal capital on the basis of absurd charges addressed to a friendly state, as Albania is, or on the basis of an anti-Albanian attitude, does not contribute to bilateral relations and the country's stability," the communique from the Albanian Consulate in Skopje reads.

PD Condemns Persecution

AU1211221693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Statement issued by the Democratic Party of Albania; place and date not given; read by announcer]

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD] of Albania follows with great worry and forcefully condemns the wave of terror, persecution, and pursuits that Macedonian police forces have undertaken against innocent Albanians. The pursuit and imprisonment of innocent Albanians, as well as the accusations against them, are not only a flagrant violation of human and national rights but also a dangerous act that aims to destabilize Macedonia. This is an intentional cunning act against one of the most stabilizing factors of the new republic and a continuation of Milosevic's policy in the region.

The PD stresses that to use as a pretext the pursuit and arrests of innocent people through a trap, which was organized by secret services of the former Yugoslav Army in the fall of 1991 in cooperation with services in Albania and Macedonia, either aims to carry out a witch hunt against Albanians or make fun of yourself and, willy-nilly, play Milosevic's game. Concerning this, you bear great responsibility before your country and the Balkans.

Under these conditions, the PD urges the parliament and the Macedonian Government to immediately stop the wave of violence and terror against Albanians and also requests that the Albanian Government make all the necessary appeals to the Macedonian Government and the international institutions to stop this terror against our innocent brothers.

The PD also asks Albanians not to become victims of manipulations that aim to incite them against the stability of Macedonia. The Albanians should be a factor of stability and peace in the region. This is their interest, [words indistinct] and of the whole region. Destabilization only serves Milosevic.

The PD asks Albanians to be attentive and draw the necessary conclusions and not follow the adventurers who, for the sake of a third party, create phantoms as Ilirida one time and another time take out [word indistinct] in three days, thus adding to the confusion and not the solution of the problems, and other times they collaborate with secret services to organize [word indistinct] traps and implicate innocent people. The Albanians in Macedonia need wise, honest, patriotic, and virtuous people with a clear vision who are determined to rigorously respect the values and universal principles of democracy, freedom, and human and national rights. As such, they have hundreds and thousands among them, the statement of the PD of Albania concludes.

ATA Commentary Views Arrests

AU1311153193 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 13 Nov 93

["The Arrest of Eight Albanians in Macedonia, a Badly Framed Political Action"—ATA Commentary]

[Text] Tirana, November 13 (ATA)—Regarding the latest arrest of eight Albanians in Skopje, Gostivar, and Tetove, among them two other members of the Macedonian Government, Deputy Minister of Defence Hisen Hashaj and Deputy Minister of Health Imer Imeri, the Macedonian police said that they belong to a group involved in "organised hostile anti-state activity," that they have organised the smuggling of weapons from abroad, even from Albania, as well as of pre-military groups with 20,000 Albanian armed ' militia men." The Macedonian police alleges that their aim has been to disconnect several parts of Macedonia. In his recent press conference, the Macedonian minister of interior, Frckovski, said that "70 Chinese made machine guns of Kallashnikov type, discovered of late, seem to have come from Albania," while it is known that the 15 year relations between Albania and China have been purely economic.

It is not the first time that the Macedonian Government undertakes such anti-Albanian actions for certain political goals. The latest badly framed action is part of an anti-Albanian policy followed in practice by the Macedonian Government such as the killing of innocent unarmed civilians and of Albanian soldiers along the border with Albania and the denial of many basic rights of the Albanians in this former Yugoslav republic. Whenever the Albanians raise their voice for their rights, the Macedonian Government uses its iron hand to frighten the Albanians residing there, discredit the Albanian leaders in the Macedonian Government, as in the

latest case, and sow distrust towards ethnic Albanians in their territories in Macedonia.

The latest anti-Albanian action of the Macedonian authorities coincides in time with the escalation in Kosova of the campaign of repression and oppression, whose latest aspect are the politically framed trials against the Kosovars accused of "hostile activity." Through these simultaneous actions, Serbian and Macedonian chauvinists aim at oppressing any demand for the accomplishment of the Albanians' national rights.

For certain political aims, the latest politically staged actions also include Albania, which fully supports the legitimate demands of the Albanian population in Macedonia. Through these actions, the chauvinists intend to compromise this support of Albania as well as its peace loving policy in the Balkan region. The Albanian minister of defence, Safet Zhulali, said that these actions intend to destabilize relations between Albania and Macedonia and are component part of the anti-Albanian strategy.

The Macedonian minister of interior has no right to frame charges against another country, such as Albania, through suppositions and guessing. He alleges that a part of the weapons discovered "seem" to have come from Albania. The same minister was forced to refute reports from the Macedonian press about the fantastic figure of 20,000 Albanian "militiamen" allegedly found in Macedonia. "It is simply a disinformation," Frckovski declared. The fact that until now the eight Albanians arrested have not been allowed to contact attorneys, also shows of a badly patched up political action.

The latest arrest of eight ethnic Albanians by the Macedonian police has aroused great indignation among Albanian political parties in Macedonia and Kosova which declare that they see in this action another effort to realize a "strong hand" policy against the Albanians in Macedonia, to discriminate and sow distrust towards the Albanians residing in their own territories.

Serrequi Meets With Greece's Papoulias

NC1411133393 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1230 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report from Tirana by Mirella Kalostipi—recorded]

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias had talks in Tirana this morning with Albanian counterpart Alfred Serreqi and Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova in the presence of diplomatic delegations from both sides. The Greek side desires normalization of relations between Greece and Albania. Papoulias wants the Albanian leadership to prove in action, not in words, that it will respect the rights of the Greek minority, including schools, churches, and participation in public life, so that Greece and Albania can restore open and smooth relations, as he put it. Albania is expecting significant help from Greece, especially during Greece's presidency of the European Union. Regarding the situation in the Balkans, particularly the sensation caused by the recent remarks of [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic about Albanian secession activities in Skopje, the Greek foreign minister said that Tirana's official position is that such actions do not contribute to peace in the region and cause instability in Albania itself.

Foreign Minister Papoulias this afternoon will meet with representatives of the Greek minority and representatives of Albanian opposition parties. The foreign minister will continue this talks in Tirana tomorrow with Albanian President Sali Berisha and Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

Talks Continue

NC1411221693 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 2130 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias raised the problems facing the Greek minority in Albania at his meeting with his Albanian counterpart Alfred Serreqi. The two ministers also discussed bilateral relations in various sectors. The Albanian side raised the question of the return of Cams [Muslims who left Greek territory in 1944 and settled in Albania] and their property. Our Tirana special correspondent Nikolaos Meletis has the following report.

[Begin Meletis recording] Special emphasis was given during the talks to the development of bilateral relations. The Albanian side is interested in insuring EC aid in view of the upcoming Greek presidency. However, Greece also submitted a series of proposals for cooperation primarily in the economic sector. It was also agreed to establish a mixed interministerial committee to deal with economic cooperation and to form two special committees to deal with existing educational issues as well as with matters pertaining to the employment of Albanian workers in Greece.

On his part, the Greek foreign minister raised the issue of the Greek minority and pointed out the need that they be respected and their rights be safeguarded.

Although the Greek and Albanian Foreign Ministries were committed not to make any statements until the talks are concluded, the Albanian Foreign Ministry spokesman told the Tirana television that Mr. Serreqi raised a question concerning the return of Cams and their property. As Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman Konstandinos Bikas noted, this question had been examined during the latest visit to Athens by Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi and the then Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis said that the question of the Cams' property could be discussed and settled under the proviso of reciprocity. It was also pointed out that Mr. Serreqi raised the issue merely within the framework of humanitarianism and democratic freedoms.

Mr. Papoulias stressed to his Albanian counterpart that our country is not facing the question of the Cams' return. Concerning the question of compensation for

their property, Mr. Papoulias stressed that, within the framework of statements made by the former prime minister, the issue could be referred to the legal departments of the two ministries for consideration. [end recording]

Commission Decides on 28 Nov as Liberation Day

AU1211184893 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—A historian's commission established at the Institute of History led by Kasem Bixhaku, director of the institute, concluded that November 28 and not November 29 is the day of Albania's liberation. This was declared by President Berisha at a message to the parliament.

No doubt the National Liberation War is one of the greatest epochs in the history of Albania and of the whole Albanian nation. The National Liberation War led to Albania's liberation and ranked it on the side of a powerful coalition they will always be proud of, President Berisha stressed in his message adding that the martyrs of the National Liberation War with no exception and despite age, sex, nationality, education, and ideological convictions sacrificed their lives on behalf of the ideals of freedom for a free and independent Albania. They did never fight to replace communist dictatorship with fascist dictatorship, and concentration camps with communist extermination camps where hundreds of thousands of innocent people were liquidated.

The historians' commission looked into facts and official documents of the year 1944 and concluded that November 28 marks the end of war in Albania. This date marks the liberation of Shkoder and of the whole Albania. Documents and facts show that November 29 was fixed as the national day of Albania proceeding from perfidious aims. It was part of the platform of integrating Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as Enver Hoxha had promised to Miladin and Dushan November 8, 1941. With this act dictator Enver Hoxha denied the National Liberation War, the blood and sacrifices of the martyrs and of the whole Albanian people. I am sure that history will consider Enver Hoxha's act as part of the great national betrayal the Communist Party leadership of Albania had prepared since its founding.

The day of the complete liberation of Albania coincides with the day when the national flag was hoisted in Albania, which makes more meaningful the day of the liberation.

Deputies Vote Against Bills Presented by Owners

AU1211190293 Tirana ATA in English 1119 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—On the basis of 20 thousand signatures, the association "Ownership Through Justice" presented to the People's Assembly two draft laws for examination and approval, that "On the recognition of the ownership on the land and its compensation in kind" and the draft "For the restitution of the buildings and sites which have been nationalized, expropriated, confiscated, and sequestered to the former owners or their heirs."

During the discussion in principle of the two drafts, Deputy Abdi Baleta and representative of the Republican Party, M. Celiku, said they agreed on the approval of these drafts. The chairman of the Laws Commission, H. Shamata, said that the government should proclaim its opinion first in regard to this problem. In the name of the Commission of Economy and Finance, J. Gjana said that the two drafts have fundamental disagreements with the existing laws. P. Kalakula, in the name of the Commission of Agriculture, opposed the approval of the presented draft laws, although he personally was for their approval.

In the name of the parliamentary groups of the DP [Democratic Party], SDP [Social Democratic Party] and the SP [Socialist Party], their chairmen, A. Spahia, T. Laco, and N. Dokle were against the approval of these draft laws.

In the voting of these drafts, only 9 deputies voted for, the independent deputies abstained, while the majority of the deputies voted against the approval of the draft laws.

Russian Minister of Culture Arrives for Talks

AU1311205193 RTSH Satellite Television Broadcast in Albanian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Mr. Yevgeniy Sidorov, minister of culture of the Russian Federation, arrived in our country today. During his visit, he will meet with top-level personalities of state and culture.

Zhelev Dismisses National Security Adviser

AU1211193393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] The press center of the Presidency announced today that President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev has issued a decree on the basis of which General Stoyan Andreev is being relieved from his post as presidential adviser on national security affairs.

Ministry Responds to Macedonian Accusations

AU1211193493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] The Bulgarian consulate general in Skopje has requested a special explanation from the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the recent statements on the illegal transit of weapons for Macedonia through the territory of Bulgaria, Velizar Enchev, correspondent for Bulgarian National Television in Skopje, reported.

We have just received an announcement from the Council of Ministers press center, which reads as follows:

The statement by the Macedonian minister of internal affairs at a news conference held in Skopje on 10 November that channels of illegal transit dispatching weapons for the Republic of Macedonia through Bulgaria is an ill-intentioned insinuation, which does not serve the development of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Daskalov Tells Envoys of 'Concern' About WEU

AU1211222493 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Tonight we have learned that today Stanislav Daskalov, minister of foreign affairs, separately summoned the ambassadors [Torre Mananes Silva] of Portugal; Jorge Fuentes of Spain; and Jean Marie Daillet of France, in that order, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Minister Daskalov expressed Bulgaria's great concern and disappointment at the fact that at the Western European Union's meeting on 8 and 9 November 1993 their countries were not in a position to support the proposal of the Belgian chairman to approve the provisional agreement on trade and related matters signed between the European Community and Bulgaria.

The minister further requested an official explanation of the position of the three countries at the meeting in question and of the position that they intend to adopt in the future on such matters.

Deputy Prime Minister Denies Cabinet in Crisis

AU1411152293 Sofia BTA in English 1513 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 12 (BTA)—"I would not speak of a cabinet crisis," Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev said, answering the question how he would describe the attacks against the cabinet. Minister Karabashev answered the questions on Repercussions, an evening programme of the National Television. "The situation is as critical as it was the same time last year and there are facts which prove this," Minister Karabashev said. He said that the budget implementation does not depend only on the cabinet and cited two examples of belated important amendments to the fiscal legislation. "There are many companies, among them state-owned ones, whose taxes have been levied but not yet collected. The cabinet is planning to undertake certain measures on its first meeting on Monday but an increase of the budget deficit is not being considered for the time being," the deputy prime minister said. According to him, the implementation of the budget will depend on the cooperation among the three major political forces and the trade unions.

"A future cabinet change should be a structural rather than a personnel one," Mr. Karabashev said. For several months now the dollar exchange rate has been following the inflation rate and this is a positive trend, he believes. "The exchange rate has probably passed its turning point and the official exchange rate for Monday [15 November], 1 lev down today's figure, comes to prove it," Minister Karabashev said.

Correction to Berov Plays Down Motion

AU1011142393

The following item pertains to the item headlined "Berov Plays Down Motion," published in the 10 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 3: Column one, second paragraph, first sentence make read: ...when commenting on Adem Kenan's statement on... (correcting name)

Defense Minister Denies Sarin Sample Passed to U.S.

LD1211235593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said today that there are no samples of chemical warfare agents used in the Persian Gulf war and, therefore, these could not have been passed to the United States. He thus rejected the allegation of U.S. Congressman Glen Bowder that members of the Czechoslovak antichemical warfare unit had passed to the Americans a sample of sarin which was supposed to have been used during the war and which had been traced by our soldiers on 19 January 1991. According to Antonin Baudys, only the results of measurements taken by the soldiers and the measuring instruments are available.

Zieleniec Sums Up Scandinavia Talks Upon Return

LD1211234093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec ended his two-day visit to Scandinavia today, in the course of which he paid an official visit to Norway and Sweden. Our special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina, one of the journalists accompanying the Czech foreign minister, has phoned in the following report.

[Konvalina] [Passage omitted] On board the aircraft the foreign minister briefed journalists about the outcome of his talks in Norway and Sweden. The talks were dominated by security issues in Europe.

Zieleniec regards the initiative by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, called Partnership for Peace, as viable providing it is correctly developed and providing it does not focus merely on military cooperation. This initiative should take into consideration political requirements of those European countries that seek a rapprochement with NATO.

When meeting the Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas today Zieleniec warned against one-sided strengthening of Russia's stability without taking into account developments in the Central and East European country, which feel they are in a security vacuum. [passage omitted]

Secret Service To Discontinue Media Briefings

AU1311180393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

["(rep)"-signed report: "Devaty's Secret Service Wants to Become Even More Secret"]

[Text] Prague—The management of the Security and Information Service [BIS] has decided that the service will discontinue providing information to the mass media. This is what the director of counter-espionage told us.

He also said that he would stop giving interviews to journalists reacting to various matters. Devaty is of the opinion that all his public appearances have been abused.

This was Devaty's reaction when he was asked to give his opinion on the fact that MLADA FRONTA DNES witnessed a revelation of the identity of four counter-intelligence agents prior to their meeting with a high ministerial official last week.

On 26 October, four BIS agents came to First Deputy Defense Minister Jiri Pospisil's office. From a reliable source we learned that the secret agents had given their real names in front of several civilians. After consultation with Devaty, MLADA FRONTA DNES decided not to publish their names.

"If you publish the names, you will eliminate yet another four agents of ours. I am shocked to hear you know their names," Devaty told us.

He refused to reveal the purpose of the visit. "We have regular contacts. Our cooperation with the army is quite a normal matter," he stressed. According to information available to us, these agents are experts on the protection of economic interests and constitutional order in our republic.

When asked about the BIS visit, Jiri Pospisil replied through Defense Ministry Spokesman Zdenek Borkovec. He confirmed that BIS agents have visited the ministry, but he denied that the deputy minister had met them. "These agents were received in the secretariat of the first deputy. Since the matter to be discussed was not within the jurisdiction of the first deputy, they were told that the BIS management should address experts of the [Defense] Ministry," a Defense Ministry spokesman said.

The BIS is a secret service, and the results of its work are known to constitutional officials only. According to the law, the BIS gathers and processes information on the activity of foreign secret services and organized terrorism, it defends the important economic interests of the state, gathers information important for the protection of constitutional order, and helps protect state secrets.

ODS Council Passes Resolution on Administration

AU1211185293 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 8 Nov 93 pp 1, 3]

[Viktor Krejci report: "Yielding to Political Pressure Is Not Acceptable"]

[Excerpt] On Saturday [6 November], the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Executive Council adopted by 12

votes to ten a resolution that higher administrative bodies need not be set up before the local and Senate elections next year.

Furthermore, the resolution states that the execution of public administration is currently assured, albeit not always in a manner satisfactory to the citizens. At the same time, the Civic Democratic Party considers the improvement of public administration—both the state administration and self-administration—a part of its political program, which is based on expedient decentralization, and objects to ideas to the contrary being attributed to the party. The problems of viable state administration should be solved as the first step, and the fulfillment of the Constitution by establishing the higher bodies of territorial administration should then be realized as the second. Moreover, the Executive Council voiced its conviction that it is not acceptable to yield to political pressure and establish higher bodies at any cost before the scheduled local and Senate elections in 1994. At the same time, the higher bodies should be established before the parliamentary elections in 1996.

Civic Democratic Party Deputy Chairman Jiri Vlach said that during the Council session he presented his long-held opinion that the entire issue must be accelerated, and a result achieved prior to the 1994 elections, but not at any cost. In his opinion, a relatively strong group that cannot be convinced that it is not necessary to establish the higher bodies prior to 1994 exists within the Civic Democratic Party as the voting on the Executive Council resolution demonstrated. Executive Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak added that there is also a third group, which proposes that no higher bodies be established and which obtained four votes. Hence the final resolution is a compromise with which the Civic Democratic Party leadership will come to the coalition talks. Regarding the Senate election issue, the Executive Council accepts next year as the election date. [passage omitted]

Klaus Opposed to New Bodies

AU1211190493 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 10 Nov 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci in Prague on 9 November: "The Attitude of the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party Towards the Higher Bodies Is Destructive"]

[Text] In view of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Executive Council resolution that no higher territorial entities are to be established before next year's communal and Senate elections, we asked Prime Minister Klaus several questions—this time, exceptionally, for the editorial office, rather than for the readers as we do every Wednesday.

[Krejci] This decision by the ODS resulted in a surge of criticism accusing you of centralism, violation of the coalition agreement, and many other sins.

[Klaus] It is in the nature of politics that political adversaries exist to express different opinions. Hence, criticism of this type is not surprising. I am somewhat distraught by this issue being personified in myself. It would be better to discuss the actual issues more, their essence, and this could bring us to the truth much faster than if we interpret certain matters as a duel of politicians or political parties. Unfortunately, among all the criticism I cannot find a single matter-of-fact analysis, and instead keep hearing the chorus repetition of the phrase "higher autonomous territorial bodies, yes." Unfortunately none of the gentlemen adds why or how.

[Krejci] If we turn the question around: Why not, and how not?

[Klaus] I am not saying "Why not?" That would be very vague. What I am saying is that in the long jump, I do not want to start, run to the jumping mark, and then jump without knowing where I will land. I am missing a clear demarcation of what is to come, how it will come, what benefits it will bring for whom, how it will improve the efficiency of the management of this country from the widest, and hence not only the economic, point of view. What I keep hearing, however, are only one-sided statements without any argumentation, and I am surprised that these gentlemen lapse into this so easily.

[Krejci] Chamber of Deputies Deputy Chairman Jan Kasal (Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) [KDU-CSL] expressed concerns that, by you position on this issue, you are forcing the other coalition parties to vote with the opposition.

[Klaus] I am not forcing the coalition parties to do anything. I am a politician who respects opinions, and everybody knows that, if someone's opinion is sufficiently profound, I cannot change it. If I were a member of a party like the KDU-CSL, which has an uneven distribution of its supporters and voters throughout the republic, I would certainly know that in one or two regions I would have a much higher political representation than I can hope for throughout the entire republic. Thus, I understand how the representatives of this party are being pressed by circumstances into stating "Let us subdivide this country as much as possible, for the party will have a dominant position in some of the emerging parts." Nonetheless, I consider this approach very shortsighted and destructive for the entire country. I understand it, however, and do not blame Mr. Kasal. He is only maximizing his advantage, and I cannot and will not talk him out of it.

[Krejci] How will the coalition proceed on this issue?

[Klaus] Like everything else in the world, it must become a subject of talks, and I am the last person to avoid such a discussion, and the last person to be concerned with anything other than the essence of the problem. I would beg of all the partners to these talks, however, to stay on this matter-of-fact side of the problem.

Cermak: Coalition Talks Only After ODS Congress

AU1311212893 Prague CTK in English 1632 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 11 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) intends to hold no coalition talks in the run-up to the ODS congress on November 27 to 28 in Koprivnice, North Moravia, ODS Executive Deputy Cairman Petr Cermak told journalists today.

Remarks made by Czech Foreign Minister and ODS Deputy Chairman Josef Zieleniec to the effect that his state function makes him the wrong choice as an ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] representative for talks between the bigger coalition four, composed of the four parties' deputy chairmen, will be discussed at the ODS caucus meeting on Nov 12, Cermak said.

He mentioned the end of March 1994 as a likely deadline for the conclusion of lists of candidates for the next local elections. The training of candidates is now under way, Cernak added.

KDS Official Comments on Joining NATO

AU1311211293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Nov 93 p 3

["il"-signed report: "V. Benda Criticized V. Klaus's Opinion on Joining NATO"]

[Text] Prague—It is unfortunate if Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus says that it is sufficient for the Czech Republic to integrate into the NATO political structures and not into the military ones. Christian Democratic Party [KDS] Chairman V. Benda made this statement at a conference on security in Eastern and Central Europe in the Forum hotel yesterday. According to him, such an approach (the so-called French model) could result in the NATO member states doubting whether we really want to become a member of the alliance. Benda pointed out that France caused great difficulties by its withdrawal from NATO in 1966, and it is France that is seeking a way back into the organization today.

Experts from ten countries spoke at the conference, representatives of the four coalition parties among them. According to historian R. Kucera, the disagreement between the speech by O. Vychodil of the Civic Democratic Party and the contributions by the other politicians (Minister Baudys and Civic Democratic Alliance Deputy Chairman D. Kroupa who share President Havel's opinion) makes it obvious that we should make every effort to join NATO, although the situation is not favorable for us. "We can see doubts in some leading Civic Democratic Party politicians regarding the ability of Europe to expand the stability zone," Kucera said. This allegedly stems from the mistrust of some Czech politicians in the integrating Europe, as it is often demonstrated by Prime Minister Klaus.

Zieleniec, Bruntland Discuss NATO, CSCE

AU1311212093 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Oslo, Nov 11 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec met today with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, discussing the American project for cooperation between NATO and non-member countries known as the partnership for peace. Zieleniec and Brundtland stated that the partnership for peace made room for deepening relations between NATO and other states.

Zieleniec said that it was not possible to look at this concept as merely a proposal on who would participate in more military exercises with NATO forces or peace operations. The Czech Republic sees the partnership for peace as the first step on the road to a gradual and natural differentiation among candidates for membership in NATO, he said.

The partnership for peace project, proposed recently by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, will be one of the subjects of January's NATO summit meeting in Brussels. The content of the project should also be specified there. Brundtland is to represent Norway at the summit.

Zieleniec and Brundtland also expressed agreement that the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has, in its present form, relatively limited possibilities, as it obtained an Asian dimension by accepting former Soviet republics as members.

Havel Begins Consultative Meetings With Deputies

LD1211231893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpt] President Vaclav Havel received representatives of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] deputies club, led by its chairman, Jiri Honajzer, and by Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. After the end of the meeting, which lasted about 40 minutes, the president said:

[Begin Havel recording] I have decided to organize a series of brief operative consultative meetings with all the parliamentary clubs. Today I spoke with representatives of the ODS club; I will spend tomorrow receiving other clubs, and on Tuesday [16 November] I will receive the last two. The purpose of these meetings is to consult each other about the most topical political problems in our country, to discuss the situation in parliament, its problems, its prospects, its approach toward creating a consensus on some important issues where consensus is necessary, and to preserve a constant link between the president and the parliament. [end recording]

Answering journalists' questions in greater detail, the president said that he will probably not invite the club of deputies for the Association for the Republic [Republican Party of Czechoslovakia] to attend the consultative meetings which started today. [passage omitted]

Culture Minister Responds To U.S. Criticism

LD1411120693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1805 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Interview with Slovak Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik by correspondent Peter Susko at the end of the Conference on Slovak National Identity, held at the Catholic University of America in Washington on 13 November—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Susko] During the panel discussion you said—and I quote—that some journalists and politicians were trying to turn back the wheel of history. Can you tell me what you meant?

[Slobodnik] [Passage omitted] Look, concretely there is, for example, a report by Steny Hoyer and [U.S. Congressmen] Dennis DeConcini called "Human Rights and Democratization in Slovakia." I did not write about it for REPUBLIKA. In fact it contains a lot of untrue information, not facts, although there is, of course, some information there that is undoubtedly correct. Nobody doubts the report as a whole, but it contains information that is untrue about the position of minorities, and about the Slovak minority in Hungary. It contains quotations chosen in a selective, incorrect, and deliberate fashion from many articles of the Slovak Constitution. From such quotations an impression is created that the [Slovak] Constitution is undemocratic and curtailed. [passage omitted]

Here is an elementary example of how information can be manipulated: At a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, in the Park of Culture and Rest, I was asked why, as a culture minister, I did not replace certain television or radio personalities. I answered: Unfortunately, these institutions are public ones and are not subordinate to the Culture Ministry, I do not have any influence in these matters. As interpreted by Hoyer and DeConcini, this information was changed in the NEW YORK TIMES leading article into the following item: Dusan Slobodnik, as a culture minister, wants to take steps against the independence of radio and television. [passage omitted]

In my opinion, we have to defend ourselves against this, because otherwise, if we continue patiently to accept these matters, we will not be able to defend ourselves. I will write an official letter to the NEW YORK TIMES and ask them to publish my dementi, or [ask] Hoyer and DeConcini to make known how concretely I interfered with radio or television activities. [passage omitted]

Official Appeals to U.S. Slovaks for Support

AU1411153093 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 10 Nov 93 p 2

["var"-signed report: "Ivan Gasparovic About Lobbyism"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[passage omitted] Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, yesterday reported on the results of his visit to California. As he said, he had met with representatives of the University of California Los Angeles, the World Congress of Slovaks [SKS], and businessmen.

With SKS Chairman Leo Danihels he discussed the need for a more active policy by our compatriots in U.S. state administration bodies and for their more effective "lobbyism."

"There are several senators and congressmen of Slovak origin in the U.S. Congress, but their activity in support of Slovakia is minimal. They should become more actively involved in parliamentary politics because lobbyism is nothing harmful in present-day political life, but, quite the contrary, it is needed," Ivan Gasparovic said after his visit to California.

Kovac Complains to Meciar About Lexa's 'Behavior'

LD1311084493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] The arrogant behavior of Ivan Lexa, state secretary at the Ministry of Administration and Privatization of National Property, has further convinced Slovak President Michal Kovac that Lexa does not have the right qualities for a ministerial post and that Lexa's behaviour, deemed harmful to the state, has put in great doubt his suitability for other important state posts. This was said in a statement issued for TASR by Anton Bodis, who was asked to do so by the president of the republic. He added that in the context of Ivan Lexa's statements about the president, he had sent a letter to Premier Vladimir Meciar.

According to Anton Bodis, Ivan Lexa's statements, in which he slanders and belittles the head of the state, are being perceived both by our citizens and abroad as an insult of the president. Michal Kovac is convinced that the premier will draw the necessary conclusions from Ivan Lexa's activities. This is not only in the interest of the state but also in the interest of Vladimir Meciar, because the Lexa in this way threatens the premier's prestige as well, stresses the statement issued by the spokesman of the head of the state.

Lexa: Kovac Will Not Carry Out Political Purges

AU1311212593 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 11 (CTK)—In an interview for Slovak Radio today, state secretary for the Privatization Ministry Ivan Lexa said that he expected Slovak President Michal Kovac not to carry out political purges and not to place personal interests and reservations above the interests of work.

On Monday Kovac rejected Lexa's nomination as minister of privatization.

I am still waiting for Mr. President to explain his reasons for the rejection, which he has not yet done, and I am convinced that the head of state, who should represent morality and ethics, should set proper limits in this matter, Lexa said.

When asked whether he had the feeling that his rejection also meant there were doubts about his position as state secretary, Lexa said that if the president is of the opinion that I should not execute the duties of state secretary, he will have to convince those who have influence over this decision.

Lexa said he was not considering stepping down from his post, as he saw no elementary reason for taking this step.

Toth Appears Before 'Indiagate' Commission

AU1311211993 Prague CTK in English 2124 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 11 (CTK)—The Slovak Parliamentary Commission looking into the Indiagate affair today heard Slovak Finance Minister and Deputy Premier Julius Toth.

Slovak Radio reported him as saying that the reason for his decision to pick Interfidas as the firm to act for Slovakia in settling the Indian debt instead of putting the transaction up for bid was that there had been no similar firm.

Toth reportedly said that the firm was respectable and that he had come to know it while still working for the East Slovak Foundry Vychodoslovenske Zelezarny. He told the commission how the payments to the Slovak National Bank and from the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank were made, adding that no transactions which threw more light on the affair had been discovered, Slovak Radio reported.

The so-called Indiagate affair came to being when it transpired that the Indian debt to Slovakia was settled in violation of a bilateral trade agreement when the debt was partially offset through barter payment using sugar—an unlisted commodity—which was subsequently reexported.

The Slovak daily "SME" wrote that this transaction brought two members of the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Bank governor the sum of $22 million. Slovak Parliament passed the commission during its 23rd session in October, prodded by the opposition.

SNS To Replace Coalition Negotiators

AU1411215293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Nov 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Through Torments Toward Coalition"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its meeting yesterday, the Slovak National Party [SNS] Political Board endorsed SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak's acceptance of President Michal Kovac's invitation to the Bratislava Castle on Monday [8 November]. The SNS will not act against the Constitution because the president has every right to freely decide whom he accepts and whom not, without having to provide an explanation.

"I am sorry that, after all the torments that we had to overcome to arrive at the coalition, after our party indicated its accommodating attitude, and after I, as a person, humbled myself, everything foundered on a single person," Ludovit Cernak said during a break in the meeting of the SNS Political Board. According to his words, the non-appointment of one minister cannot destabilize the Slovak political scene and jeopardize what has been arduously achieved by teams of experts. The SNS's mediators during the coalition talks thus far—Peter Sokol, Marian Andel, and Jozef Prokes—will probably not continue in the further coalition talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Referring to the statements made by some party members regarding the coalition talks, Cernak said that some statements and actions by certain SNS members behind his back departed from the agreed course of action. Their conduct will be dealt with by party bodies.

Debate was triggered by the interview given by Vladimir Miskovsky, deputy chairman of the SNS Club of Deputies, to the daily PRACA on Monday [8 November], in which he announced his departure from the ranks of this party. He did, however, participate in yesterday's meeting of the Political Board as its member. He said that he understood his intention to leave the SNS Club of Deputies as conditional. He still has not made a final decision.

Foreign Ministry Official on Sanctions Report

LD1211184693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpts] According to reports in a U.S. paper, all of Yugoslavia's neighbors, with the exception of Croatia, are urging that the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro be eased. THE WASHINGTON POST reports that Hungary recently joined those states which wish the embargo to be moderated. [passage omitted] Ivan Baba, deputy state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, has reacted to that part of the report in the U.S. daily which dealt with Hungary.

[Begin recording] [Baba] It is unambiguously the case that the sanctions are causing damage to the neighboring countries, including Hungary. At the same time, we have undertaken to bear this burden in accordance with the expectations of the international community. It is also clear that it is not in our interest that Serbia should be especially punished, but in these issues we can only move together with the international community.

As far as we know, the international community, namely the UN Security Council, or other organizations have not adopted any program or draft plan aimed at easing or lifting the sanctions. This question is on the agenda, in New York among other places, but so far no decision has yet been made. Therefore, we have not been able to join such a resolution.

[Unidentified reporter] So, the gist of it is that Hungary will not initiate independently any kind of easing of the sanctions. On the contrary, Will adhere to international decisions and positions?

[Baba] Yes, this is literally the case. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Has there been diplomatic coordination with, say, the French or the Germans, because it is well known that they do not oppose the easing of sanctions?

[Baba] Such consultations take place continuously as our ambassador to the United Nations, in his capacity as a member of the UN Security Ciuncil, is in continuous contact with the representatives of the permanent members and with other important diplomats in New York. [end recording]

Csurka: No Plan To Change Border With Serbia

LD1111113693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] According to Istvan Csurka, the basis of balanced relations between Hungary and Serbia is the right of Vojvodina Hungarians to self-determination. The chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party also said in Senta that he does not regard border changes as an aim.

Asked about the situation in Hungary, Csurka said that dissatisfaction is increasing in Hungary. The main reason for this is the privatization which has been carried out in an inappropriate way.

Regarding Hungarian radio and television, Istvan Csurka denied that people at the head of these institutions and recently appointed people in the leadership are his followers.

Plan To Barter MiGs With Israel Denied

AU1211070493 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 11 Nov (MTI)—All 28 MiG-29 fighter planes Hungary received from Russia are in Hungary now, with the last 12 having arrived on Thursday [11 November], Hungarian Defence Ministry Spokesman Lajos Erdelyi reported.

Erdelyi denied information that the Hungarian Army is holding talks with Israel on the exchange of two of the Russian MiG-29s for Israeli air defence equipment.

The MiG-29 aircraft, received as payment for part of the former Soviet Union's debt to Hungary, have gone into possession of the Hungarian Army's Kecskemet (central Hungary) Air Unit.

Bonn, Paris Back Polish Membership in WEU

LD1211150193 Hamburg DPA in German 1230 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The foreign ministers of Germany, France, and Poland spoke in favor of greater involvement on the part of Poland and other Eastern European countries within European structures in Warsaw today. Klaus Kinkel, Alain Juppe, and Andrzej Olechowski issued a statement in which they backed Poland's inclusion as an associated partner in the Western European Union (WEU). Germany and France will try to ensure that association status is created and proposed to Poland as early as the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg on 22 November.

However, the two Western ministers failed to give their hosts any concrete pledges regarding the Polish wish for full membership of the European Union and NATO. They only reaffirmed that "Poland and the other associated states in Central and Eastern Europe are called on to join the European Union as soon as they have met the necessary preconditions." German delegation sources said Polish membership as well as that of other Eastern European countries could be discussed following the accession of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] member states on 1 January 1995. The candidates in this next "concentric circle" were, alongside Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, as well as Romania and Bulgaria.

Sources said Kinkel pledged that Germany wanted to act as "godfather and champion" on behalf of the former Eastern bloc countries regarding their accession to the community. With respect to NATO, the declaration says the ministers are in favor of closer cooperation within the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. In addition, a "signal" that the alliance is in principle open to expansion would be of significance. However, the delegation sources said that NATO had to take Russia's security interests into account so that any accession of individual former Eastern bloc states did not create "new divisions." This did not mean that Russia was being given right of veto. [passage omitted]

Further on French, German Support

LD1211203293 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1838 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Nov—France and Germany will undertake activities to support the attainment by Poland of the status of an associate member of the Western European Union, and the proposal of this to Poland already at the coming meeting of WEU ministers in Luxembourg on 22 November. Both states grant Poland "decisive support" in the process of attaining membership of the European Union, states the Declaration by the Foreign Ministers of Poland, France, and Germany issued on 12 November after the end of trilateral talks in Warsaw.

In the view of the ministers, in association with the new situation consequent upon the ratification of the Treaty on European Union, the adoption of a new status for associate members of the WEU is necessary for those states that have signed association treaties with the European Union or that will do this in the future. This status ought to make possible for them a wide-ranging participation in the activities of the WEU.

(The WEU is the political-defense organization of the states of the European "twelve", that according to the Maastricht Treaties is to become the defense structure of a future united Europe) [PAP parentheses]

France and Germany also suport the will for closer association with Europe and Atlantic security structures expressed by Poland and other states of Central Europe. "We regard this as the natural fulfillment of the ever closer cooperation of these states with the European Union," states the declaration.

In the declaration, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel expressed satisfaction at the fact that the European Treaty on the Association of Poland with the European Union will come into force on 1 January 1994.

In the course of the news conference following the talks, Minister Andrzej Olechowski said that in connection with the association of Poland with the European Union it is necessary to specify the criteria for and make more specific the perspectives for Poland fully joining the European Union. This perspective was opened up after the European Communities summit in Copenhagen, where the will to accept the states of Central and Eastern Europe into membership of the Community was expressed.

Juppe stated that the point is the formulation of criteria that will not constitute extra demands, but that will assist the direction of Poland's efforts for membership, and "will become signals assisting on the road to Europe."

Issues of European security were discussed in the course of trilateral talks. "We understand the need for security expressed by the representatives of Poland," stated Juppe.

During the meeting the ministers discussed the American proposal of "partnership for peace," which will be one of the subjects of the January NATO summit in Brussels. The declaration states that "a signal on the part of the alliance indicating the acceptance of the principle of it being widened would have great significance."

In the declaration, the ministers also expressed themselves in favor of the development of cooperation in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and of the intensification of military contacts and cooperation between the Armed Forces of Poland, France, and Germany. "The desire of Poland to initiate contacts between the Polish Army and the Eurocorps was also noted with attention."

The declaration states that the ministers support the efforts of the European Union intended to make precise the French initiative of the pact for stability in Europe. The Polish side expressed readiness for active participation in the conference for stability.

The ministers stressed the role of the CSCE, stating that a permanent peace in Europe is possible only on condition that human rights are observed and that nationality and ethnic conflicts are overcome. They expressed themselves in favor of the creation of more effective instruments for preventing and resolving conflicts in the CSCE.

"We will take care that the anticipated evolution of European security structures bring benefits to all European states and that it not be directed against anyone," the ministers stated in the declaration.

"We cannot imagine future security in Europe without the participation of Russia, and Russia without democracy," Olechowski told journalists. He stressed that Poland supports the stance of France and Germany on the issue of the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Juppe and Kinkel said during the conference that Olechowski assured them of the maintenance of the main lines of Polish foreign policy. "The German Government does not start from the assumption that after the elections there will be a slow-down of the reforms, such that our relations will not be judged differently than hitherto," Kinkel replied to journalists' questions.

The ministers informed journalists that in the course of the meeting concrete measures for trilateral cooperation were discussed, inter alia the holding of regular consultations between foreign ministries and the development of interparliamentary contacts. Kinkel announced the development of Polish-German cross-border cooperation, taking advantage of German-French experience. He also spoke of the need for the widening of Polish-German youth exchanges. It was agreed that a joint Cultural Institute would be created in Warsaw (where the Goethe Institute and French Institute would be located) [PAP parentheses].

The foreign ministers announced the continuation of trilateral meetings. The next one will be held in Germany in 1994.

Olechowski Pledges Continued Reforms

LD1211230493 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski on Friday assured his French and German counterparts—Alain Juppe and Klaus Kinkel—that Poland would continue its foreign policy and the policy of reforms.

"We are not changing geographical position, we are not changing our view towards our neighbours and the European continent," Olechowski said.

The three foreign ministers met in Warsaw for trilateral talks on Poland's security, its cooperation with NATO and the Western European Union and Poland's association and prospective membership of the European Community.

Juppe and Kinkel confirmed that their countries are willing to help Poland in different fields in such an important time of changes.

The foreign ministers met within the so-called Weimar triangle, a group initiated in 1991, which has already held meetings in Weimar, Germany in 1991 and Bergerac, France in 1992. Klaus Kinkel invited his partners to hold a next meeting in 1994 in Germany, while the meeting in 1995 is to take place in France.

Security Adviser Views Russian Doctrine

AU1211191593 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 8 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Milewski, secretary of state for security in the Presidential Chancellery, by Janusz B. Grochowski, place and date not given: "Politics Will Decide, Not Doctrine"]

[Text] [Grochowski] Russia announced its defense doctrine last week. From the Polish perspective, what aspects of it are of greatest importance?

[Milewski] I think the text of the doctrine has been recycled from the foreign policy that Russia has been pursuing for a long time now and that is aimed at restoring the Russian Federation's position as a world power.

That means that Russia has global objectives and considers eventual interference in the domestic affairs of small and medium- size countries justified. Russia sees its historic interests mainly in the former republics of the USSR. But it also thinks that the Soviet Union's former satellites, including Poland, should serve as a buffer zone and that the aspirations of these countries should be subordinated to Russia. We do not want to fulfill such a role.

[Grochowski] Russia's position regarding our NATO aspirations is ambiguous. Ministers Kozyrev and Grachov assure us that any country's decision to join NATO is a sovereign decision by that country. Yet the new Russian military doctrine opposes an increase in the number of NATO members.

[Milewski] Russia's position toward NATO itself is ambiguous. One the one hand, Russia professes cooperation with NATO and considers it a friendly alliance. But on the other hand, it speaks out against the admission of other countries into NATO, claiming that this would isolate it from the pact.

Why does Russia fear NATO? Certainly not because it sees NATO as a threat to its security, but rather as a threat to its imperial ambitions. For instance, Russia

says that it would consider the entry of foreign forces onto the territory of the CIS as a threat of war. But it has no intention of stopping sending its own troops to CIS states, each of which has its own neighbors.

[Grochowski] More than that, the Russian military doctrine envisages the possibility of sending Russian troops beyond the country's borders if Moscow perceives any danger to its interests.

[Milewski] Russia reserves the right to protect the interests of not only citizens of the Russian Federation but also those of people linked to the Russian Federation culturally and ethnically, but living beyond its borders. This could apply to Russians living in countries that once belonged to the Soviet Union, as well as Russians living on other continents.

[Grochowski] The doctrine foresees, and even dictates, military action by Russia to eliminate local conflicts. Does that mean that Russia is aspiring to become the policeman of the eastern hemisphere?

[Milewski] Russia is already involved in local conflicts in the Transcaucasus, Tadjikistan, and Moldova. It became involved before the doctrine was published.

This doctrine sets out in written form political actions that Russia has been performing steadily for several years. It is not the text of the doctrine that constitutes a threat to our strategic goals, in other words integration with Western structures. It is Russia's policy that constitutes this threat.

[Grochowski] Unlike the Soviet Union, Russia does not rule out the possibility of being first to use nuclear weapons.

[Milewski] However, this doctrine apparently says—I say apparently, because I do not have the text of it—that Russia will not use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear country that adheres to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Russia declares that it considers nuclear weapons not as an element of an armed struggle but as a means of deterring and halting aggression. It also says that its long-term objective is to eliminate nuclear weapons completely from the world. But on the other hand, Russia envisages the use of these weapons to preserve the Russian Federation's integrity, as well as in response to terrorist attacks on nuclear power stations and other facilities that, if damaged or destroyed, might cause a disaster. Therefore, all these formulations are ambiguous and contradictory.

[Grochowski] Russia also envisages increasing the numerical stregth of its army to 2 million.

[Milewski] The doctrine says that Russia will maintain its armed forces at a level sufficient to thwart aggression, but insufficient to attack anyone. It is difficult to say what level is sufficient to defend this huge Eurasian land mass. It is not so important whether Russia has 1.5 million men under arms, or 2 million. More important is what kind of foreign and domestic policy it pursues over the next decade.

[Grochowski] I have the impression that this new Russian doctrine is very similar to the U.S. doctrine in many respects.

[Milewski] Warren Christopher said the same thing. There is no doubt that the U.S. doctrine is the doctrine of a world superpower that has emerged victorious from the Cold War. The way in which the Russian doctrine is formulated suggests that Russia has also emerged victorious. Yet Russia is the chief heir of the infamous USSR, and the United States has achieved its superpower status thanks to its own economic and military strength, and thanks to the strength of democracy. It is a matter of concern to us that Russia wants to reestablish its superpower status at the expense of other countries, even if it means ignoring the independence of the former USSR republics or opposing Poland's admission to NATO.

[Grochowski] Are you referring to the statement whereby only Russia can be fully sovereign?

[Milewski] I am referring to the statement whereby the former Soviet republics constitute a historical backdrop for Russia, and should remain so. That means that, according to the doctrine, Russia is striving to restrict the sovereignty of these countries and turn them into vassals.

[Grochowski] What impact could the Russian doctrine have on Polish security policy? Do you see any need to adjust our defense doctrine?

[Milewski] No, I see no need to reword it. We should pursue the strategic goals defined in our doctrine whatever foreign politicians say or write.

[Grochowski] There are doubts as to whether the new government coalition will really aim toward integration into NATO. Is such a fear justified?

[Milewski] Our doctrine clearly states: "Poland's strategic objective in the 1990's is membership of NATO and of the WEU [Western European Union] as the European arm of NATO and an important element of the European system of collective security. At present we are developing our relations with the Alliance mainly via the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Our country's future membership of NATO will have a favorable effect on Polish-German and Polish-Russian relations." Nothing here has lost its validity.

The leaders of the new government coalition, plus Mr. Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Senate National Defense Committee, have said that these principles remain in force. The appointment of Mr. Piotr Kolodziejczyk to the post of minister of national defense does not undermine these principles either, because he supports this same policy.

However, one should remember that NATO membership by Poland and the other countries can be achieved by following a certain process of adaptation. This is not something that can happen overnight. NATO must prepare itself to increase its membership. A change must occur to the pact's identity.

The new members must also prepare. NATO is not a charity, ready to unfurl a protective umbrella over someone. It is a voluntary alliance between the 16 countries that entered into it in order to increase their own security. From the point of view of NATO's present members, the admission of new members only makes sense if it increases collective security, and not if it imposes extra burdens on the Alliance.

[Grochowski] What can Poland contribute to NATO?

[Milewski] Its army, its stable political and economic system, and our stabilizing role in eastern Europe. Poland's trump cards are the treaties on good neighborliness concluded with virtually every single neighbor. We have no border conflicts nor internal ethnic tension, which the Western countries fear so much.

We want to increase overall security, as well as our own, of course. That is why we are anxious not only about Poland's membership of NATO, but also about that of our neighbors. We believe that NATO is the only tried-and-tested system that guarantees security and political stability in Europe.

[Grochowski] But is our membership at all realistic?

[Milewski] I am convinced that it is, and I do not share the view that Poland has lost its chance of becoming a member. The latest U.S. "partnership for peace" initiative does not shut Poland's door to NATO. This initiative envisages the setting in motion of a process of integration with NATO for those countries that are in a position to go through this process. The culmination of this process should be the attainment of NATO membership. The U.S. is offering this to anyone who is ready to participate in military exercises, in the open planning of military budgets, in the exercising of civilian control over the armed forces, and in the formation of combined peace forces. Therefore if we increase our efforts, we can achieve this membership. We should not give up just because of what some Western or Russian politicians say. We should steadfastly continue toward our established objective.

Politicians Comment on Election Promises

WS1511083093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Kazimierz Groblewski and Pawel Reszka: "Will the Government Carry Out Promises of PSL and SLD? Not Certainly and Not Immediately"]

[Text] "It does not have to be this way any longer." This was the main election slogan of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. It made the people expect a magical breakthrough, an end of an epoch, and an end to the difficult problems of everyday life. Will the government of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and SLD carry out the promises made during the election campaign? We asked this question of politicians of the government coalition and the opposition in the Sejm.

Piotr Ikonowicz, SLD

Will the government carry out its pre-election promises? We will do everything possible. I think that by showing social pressure, we will have to force and encourage the government to implement its promises. This must be forced; there is no other solution, because any government, no matter whether leftist or rightist, yields to the routine of administrating the country.

If we only allowed the government to administer, then it would not achieve any breakthrough and would not comply with what it had promised.

For example, 30 SLD deputies proposed that "popiwek" be abolished immediately, almost overnight. Borowski reprimanded them like little children, saying that they had not consulted with him. However, this is what they promised to their voters! Such are the people in PSL and SLD. They are still a little intimidated, but they are going to get organized and exert pressure. We and the unionists will fight, so that this Club goes to the left.

Jacek Soska, PSL

I fear that I will have skirmishes with my government and the agriculture minister when I fight for the budget.

If there was a budget of 1.95 percent for agriculture, as Suchocka said, then I will fight against it. I have certain goals to achieve in this Sejm. I am a unionist deputy. I want to be a reclaiming parliamentarian, because agriculture needs this. If peasants do not fight for their interests themselves, no intelligentsia or administrative circles will do it for them for free.

According to Soska, in the government there is a "certain group of people" who want to continue the policy that has been pursued so far.

Hanna Suchocka, Democratic Union

People did not hear the part of the prime minister's official speech that it had been waiting for: A statement that old age and disability pensions will be valorized by 100 percent and that salaries and wages will rise by six points. The speech implied that on the one hand, the government coalition does not want to depart too much from pre-election promises; on the other, however, some detailed proposals suggested that it would depart from those promises. For example, the statement that privatization will be continued proves this point. It looks like the government will be more socialist than liberal. At any rate, it certainly leans toward socialism in the phraseology that it uses. Will the people want to wait four years for promises to be implemented? I doubt it. This does

not mean that the government will fall very soon. Remember that it has a great majority in the Sejm.

Wieslawa Ziolkowska, Labor Union

The government will be carrying out its promises. It consists of young people, coming from the former Polish United Workers' Party, who have everything to lose. If they do not implement their promises, they will lose everything.

Jerzy Eysymontt, Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]

The government will not be able to carry out its promises fully. The stairs will begin with the budget, which is very soon. Those promises calling for a substantial increase in expenditures are in danger. There may be controversies inside the coalition, for example preferences for agriculture, or for the budget.

According to Eysymontt, many people who have found themselves in this government are professionals and are aware of what the real possibilities are. However, certain declarations made during the election campaign will have to be implemented. One reason for that is the reaction of the electorate: the self-government elections will be held as soon as May.

Eysymontt has serious fears as to the shape of the privatization bill. It is also not known how high taxes will be. The BBWR deputy says that higher taxes encourage taxpayers to conceal their real incomes, which means that the "gray zone" is expanding.

Krzysztof Krol, Confederation for an Independent Poland

The promises of the coalition members are divergent: SLD made promises to senior citizens, disabled pensioners, and manual laborers, whereas PSL made promises to peasants. This alliance of senior citizens, manual laborers, and peasants is very complex. These promises cannot be carried out simultaneously.

The government has already collided with reality: Miller is approving Boni's program, and Kaczmarek—Lewandowski's program.

Krol believes that the government will continue the policy of previous cabinets. It will not control the reaction of the people, who will be disappointed once again. Then, as a result of some turbulence, it is possible that the government's program will be verified and the policy of continuation will be abandoned.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, SLD

Only after the budget bill is prepared will it be possible to say what the intentions of this government are. SLD's pre-election promises were not an irresponsible wish.

Only after it becomes familiar with the condition of state finances will the government be able to say which of the promises are possible to carry out in 1994 and which can be implemented in 1995. Just like all the people in Poland, we were continually told that the condition of the state budget was excellent. At one moment we started to believe that it was not all that bad. Only now can we see the truth: An enormous deficit in foreign trade, growth in industrial output, but only in some areas of the economy.

The SLD program could be fully implemented only by a government that was formed exclusively by the party. We must take into account what PSL is saying, and verify this with the real condition of the state.

Senate Adopts Amendment to Budget Law

LD1211144493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] The Senate has today passed, without introducing any changes, an amendment to the budget law for 1993, which puts the National Bank of Poland under the obligation to finance the deficit of 30 trillion zloty and not 21.5 trillion zloty as the bank had suggested. The amendment was considered as urgent. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak took part in the debate.

Iliescu, CNSRL Leaders Discuss Unions' Demands

AU1311215193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Today, Romanian President Ion Iliescu, met with representatives of the National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions [CNSRL] Fratia.

According to statements made to our radio station by Victor Ciorbea, one of the leaders of the confederation, the purpose of the meeting was to inform the president about the confederation's viewpoint regarding the claims and planed actions of the trade union. Among the issues discussed at the meeting were the following: The stagnation of the privatization process, economic and social restructuring, the lack of coherent restructuring programs, the useless and unnecessary disputes between the government and the State Property Fund, the lack of certain programs of professional retraining, the need for urgent social protection measures to be adopted, the establishment of an adequate minimum salary, and the establishment of a reasonable ratio between salaries and prices.

Mr. Victor Ciorbea said that President Iliescu will take the necessary steps and see to it that the parliament adopts, as soon as possible, the normative acts that would allow for the acceleration of the privatization process. The head of state informed the trade union representatives that the major trade union and employers' organizations have been included in the Economic-Social Consultative Group, that has been set up by the Romanian Presidency.

Mr. Victor Ciorbea stated that the claims will continue to be discussed, and a rally will take place on 18 November as scheduled, and, probably, negotiations will be held with representatives of the government.

In turn, Mr. Miron Mitrea, CNSRL Fratia president, stated among other things, to the ROMPRES News Agency, that the meeting was the first contact of the new confederation with President Iliescu and was aimed at informing the president about the difficult economic situation currently confronting trade union members, especially now, at the beginning of winter. He presented his viewpoint on the economic blockage and expressed complete dissatisfaction with the activity of the parliament and the lack of concern with which the preparations for the cold season were made, namely the lack of a gas supply and the lack of heating.

Greek Foreign Minister Holds Talks in Romania

NC1211194393 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Report by Mirella Kalostipi]

[Excerpt] This morning Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and the Greek delegation arrived in Bucharest, the seventh stop of their Balkan tour. Papoulias held talks with Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Foreign Minister Teodor Viorel Malescanu, members of the Romanian parliamentary opposition, and Patriarch Theoktistos.

Papoulias' talks were held in a warm atmosphere because Greek-Romanian relations are very good. He discussed joint efforts for peace in the Balkans and the constructive role that Greece will play for the benefit of Balkan states, in its capacity as the European Union [EU] President.

Discussing the Balkan crisis, Greece and Romania agreed that the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro causes harm rather than benefits. Romania agreed, as Bulgaria did yesterday, that measures should be adopted for the three countries—Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania—to make up for the damage they are suffering from the embargo.

Papoulias explained to his Romanian interlocutors that a priority of the Greek Government is to prevent the war from spreading to the south and to find conditions that will allow the Balkan states to coexist jointly and peacefully. The resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem is certainly the top goal. Based on the talks the Greek foreign minister had with the Serb and Croat presidents, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, he said he believes that despite the differences there is a common desire for a peaceful solution. He added that we are close to such a solution.

Referring to Greece's assuming the EU presidency, Papoulias told the Romanians: Greece will support the request of its Balkan neighbors for a more substantive association with Europe. But no partner can have the same relations that Greece has with the Balkans. [passage omitted]

Assesses Visit as 'Good, Cordial'

AU1411163393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has concluded his visit to Romania, which is part of a Balkan tour that, after Bucharest, will also include a visit to Tirana.

The Greek foreign minister was seen off at Otopeni Airport by his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu.

In a statement made for our radio station, the guest assessed that the visit was a very good and cordial one. He also added that our positions coincide on political issues and that other permanent contacts will follow in order to ensure better mutual information.

Mr. Papoulias noted that during the meetings with Romanian officials, talks were also held on compensations that have to be granted to Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria for applying the embargo against Yugoslavia.

I am returning to Greece with the impression that the Balkan countries have decided to solve their problems and cooperate for the benefit of their peoples, the Greek foreign minister said in conclusion.

Iliescu Sets Out Aims of Consultative Team

AU1211222693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Currently at Cotroceni Palace Romanian President Ion Iliescu is meeting with a group of personalities consisting of academy members, university professors, and economics experts known for their activity in the field of economic theory and research, our correspondent, Sorin Croitorescu, reports.

At the beginning of the meeting, which is also being attended by presidential counselors Misu Negritoiu, Petru Pepelea, and Marius Guran, President Ion Iliescu told his guests that the elaboration of a national strategy regarding the future economic and social changes in Romania, the defining of the Romanian economy and the direction in which it is heading, the examination of the stage reached by the economic reform in Romania, the finding of ways to overcome difficulties related to the transition period more rapidly, as well as sketching out the principal directions in which the Romanian economy is evolving are but a few of the objectives that should be achieved by the setting up of this consultative group for economic and social issues.

The head of state also expressed his wish that the members of the group should devise a working plan that should remain valid irrespective of the parties that might win power, adding in that context that one of the immediate goals of that plan should be the acceleration of the privatization of large companies.

Data Shows Industry Reaches 'Zero Growth Level'

AU1411162693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0216 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1993—Romanian industry has stepped into a clear recovery process, show the data released by the Industry Ministry and cited by the daily ADEVARUL. It has managed to put an end to the economic decline, reaching the zero growth level. Industrial production of the past 5-6 months recorded a continuous rise compared with earlier months of the current year and also with the same period of the past year. Industrial production of the first nine months of the current year rose by 2.1 percent compared with the same period of the past year. The percentage is not spectacular but it expresses the good results recorded in the last 5-6 months when production recorded month by month increases from 4 up to 15 percent while results in the first four months showed decreases somewhere between 5 and 10 percent.

The Industry Ministry informed that some important sectors and sub-sectors relaunched their production. Several sectors, such as raw materials and consumer goods got near and even topped the production level of the 1989. Good results were recorded by mining, energy, agricultural machinery, truck and car, earing, television sets, furniture industries.

Industrial productivity of the first nine months was reported to an average by 10.5 percent higher than past year's one while energy imports (oil and methane gas) were cut by 8-12 percent, almost as much as the reduction of the employed force.

Good signals came also from the export of the first nine months, too, as it reached the level of 1988 and 1989 and its subsequent contribution to the surplus of the balance of payments mounted to over $360 million.

Government Holds Weekly Meeting on Agriculture

AU1411162793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1216 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1993—Sunflower, potato and grapes harvesting has been completed, while corn, soybeans, sugar beet and rice are still to be gathered from more than 40 thousand hectares, was mentioned at the Friday [12 November] meeting of the Romanian Government.

The Ministry of Agriculture presented data to the executive indicating that although average yields per hectare were higher than estimates and than last year's productions, the quantities supplied to the state were lower than those stipulated in contracts.

96 percent of the plots allotted for wheat and rye were sown, and similar percentages for barley and two-row barley. The 186 thousand hectares planned for sowing but on which works have not been made so far, are going to remain unsown because of particularly low temperatures.

The executive decided at its Friday meeting, to set up a "wholesale market" commercial company, said the government spokesman. This activity of this economic unit will be directed towards a civilized supply of high quality agricultural products of wholesale units and the population at large. Eight centers will be built out of Bucharest that will collect vegetables and fruits for five Bucharest markets. The centers will be equipped with sorting and packing devices.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will provide a $25 million worth of a credit for the creation of this company, that will benefit of free assistance by the German Government. Other action is open to other investors.

Spiroiu, Belgium's Delcroix View Military Accord

AU1311170093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] This evening a cooperation accord between the Armed Forces of Romania and those of the Kingdom of Belgium was signed at the Romanian Defense Ministry hotel in Bucharest. The document was signed by Romanian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu and his Belgian counterpart, Leo Delcroix.

During the news conference that followed the ceremonial signing of the document, the Romanian minister of national defense highlighted the importance of the accord, saying that it lends a systematic character to the cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries that take place as joint activities with NATO countries.

In the opinion of the Kingdom of Belgium, Mr. Delcroix said, the important thing is that by signing this document Romania is joining Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, that is, those countries with which the Kingdom of Belgium has already concluded similar accords. Within the Partnership for Peace, the Belgian minister added, the right way will be found to avoid discrimination among various states.

Later today Romanian president Ion Iliescu received Delcroix. According to the report of our correspondent, Sorin Croitorescu, their meeting was attended by presidential counselor Lieutenant General Vasile Ionel, National Defense Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, and Ioan Mircea Pascu, state secretary at the Ministry of National Defense.

After his meeting with President Iliescu, the Belgian guest made a brief statement to the press, which we will broadcast now translated by colleague, Dan Dumitrescu:

[Begin Delcroix recording; Delcroix speaks in French with superimposed Romanian translation] This afternoon a cooperation protocol was signed by the Defense Ministry of Romania and the Defense Ministry of Belgium. If you wish, you may regard it as our early application of the Partnership for Peace that was announced last week in Travemuende and which will be consecrated—if I may use that term—next year on 10 January in Brussels, during the summit meeting of NATO.

As you can see, we did not wait until that meeting, as we have already begun certain concrete projects related to Romania.

The really important thing about my visit here today is that we have clearly stated to our Romanian partners that we will not put up with any discrimination among the countries that wish to join NATO. Some time ago a number of statements were made expressing certain reserves. However, I think that now, after the Travemuende meeting, we can openly say that we will not put up with any discrimination and that all the countries that are willing to join NATO should be offered the possibility to do so. I came here precisely to voice that idea.

We should not limit ourselves to words any more, what we need is action and concrete initiatives. That is what we intend to do. [end recording]

Spiroiu Assesses Relations

AU1411162993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1104 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1993—A military delegation headed by the Belgian Defense Minister Leo Delcroix, now visiting Bucharest, had official talks on Friday, November 12, with a military delegation headed by Romanian Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu.

The Romanian defense minister stressed the ascending course of the Romanian Army's relations with the armies of the countries members of NATO and the WEU [Western European Union], and Romania's readiness to extend cooperation ties based on partnership within European security structures, including Romania's integration in these structures, with a view to get guarantees, for the sake of peace in Europe and the world.

The two parties exchanged experience, ideas and information on the activity of the two armies, and identified concrete ways and means of cooperation between the Romanian Army and the Belgian Army, a press release from the army's press office says.

Melescanu Meets Delcroix

AU1411163093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1354 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1993—Teodor Melescanu, Romanian minister of state, minister of foreign affairs, had talks Friday, November 12, with Leo Delcroix, minister of defense of the Kingdom of Belgium, currently in Romania.

The guest said at the close of the meeting: "We think that all countries, without discrimination, have to be given a chance to enter NATO at a certain moment."

The two ministers approached the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Delcroix spoke about the French-German project to be discussed in the days to come in Luxembourg, which is hoped to bring about some relaxation on a military plane in exchange for political concessions.

Melescanu and Delcroix referred to the links with the Western European Union from the point of view of the European Union, on the relations with the European Community, on evolutions in the Russian Federation and the CIS, on the new Russian military doctrine and peace-keeping forces outside the federation.

UDMR President Comments on Minority Issues

AU1411162493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1055 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1993—In a telephone dialogue with readers of the Bucharest daily CRONICA ROMANA, the president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] Bela Marko said the UDMR "has never contested the territorial integrity of Romania" and it "promotes through its program the solving of the Hungarian minority's problems within the present borders of the Romanian state."

What the UDMR has contested, Bela Marko said, is the term of "national state, as it is stipulated in the Constitution, which means that only one nation lives in Romania, without officially recognizing the existence of minorities."

During the telephone dialogue, UDMR leader Bela Marko rejected the idea that the members of parliament, which includes Hungarian ethnics, should take an oath of faith to the Romanian state because these were responsible only "in front of their electorate." At the same time the UDMR leader said that "the UDMR respects Romania's constitution and will continue to do that."

The UDMR leader condemned "nationalist, chauvinistic, xenophobic instigations." "Incitement to ethnic hatred is employed as a political weapon by certain groups in order to divert public attention from the serious problems of the society which are the economic and social problems," Bela Marko said.

Minorities Law Discussed

AU1411161993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] This morning, the Council of Representatives of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] resumed its meeting that began yesterday in Targu Mures, a meeting that has been going on now for 12 hours with no decisions being made because of the lack of required delegates. The meeting is discussing four versions of the future draft law on minorities in Romania.

Discussions are mainly focusing on the terminology used by various factions of the Council of Representatives.

The UDMR Executive Bureau suggested that the term national community replace the term national minority. There is also the variation of community that benefits from local autonomy—a proposal made by the Union of Hungarian Youth Organizations.

Sandor Szilagyi, one of the members of the Council of Representatives, suggested a completely different version from the aforementioned three versions, but it failed to receive the majority's approval.

The UDMR draft law on minorities that will be forwarded to the Romanian Parliament for discussion will be finalized during talks that will be held today and tomorrow in Targu Mures, our correspondent Ion Vulcan has reported.

Transportation Minister Signs Protocol With Moldova

AU1411162193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Paul Teodoru, Romanian minister of transportation, and Boris Gherasim, minister of transportation of Moldova, today signed a cooperation protocol on rail, road, and naval transportation.

The document, among other things, includes projects to build a bridge over the Prut River at Radauti-Prut Litcani point and to build a high-speed railroad with a European rail gauge between Iasi and Chisinau, our correspondent Mircea Dascaliuc has reported.

Prosecutor General Outlines Tasks of Public Ministry

AU1311192893 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 28 Oct 93 pp 1, 3

[Part one of interview with Prosecutor General Vasile Manea-Dragulin, by Ion Pavelescu; place and date not given: "We Are Only the Authorized Defenders of the Law"]

[Excerpts] [Pavelescu] Mr. Prosecutor General, on entering your institution, I noticed a change of names. Instead of the familiar General Prosecutor's Office [Procuratura Generala], the front of the building now displays the name "General Prosecuting Magistracy [Parchetul General] of the Supreme Court of Justice." Do these changes correspond to a new basic vision in the implementation of the law?

[Dragulin] Definitely. The democratic Romanian rule-of-law state is currently in the process of setting up those institutions that are designed to shape its structures and profile. The legal branch is also undergoing a vast and profound reform. In this respect—as stipulated by Law No. 92/1992—we are now going back to the legal system structure that has prevailed until 1952, when, out of the mimicry characteristic of those days, our country adopted the Soviet model, with all its nefarious consequences, which I do not wish to dwell on any further. This is not a mere formal and cosmetic change, but a basic one. Appeals, which were suppressed through the measures taken in 1952 and 1968, are being reintroduced, and the appropriate structures are being set up, such as the courts of appeal and the Public Ministry, which will incorporate the prosecuting magistracies. Local prosecuting magistracies will operate alongside the country courts, county prosecuting magistracies will

operate alongside law courts, and the General Prosecuting Magistracy, which I have the honor of leading, will operate alongside the Supreme Court of Justice. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] What is the place and role of the Public Ministry in the rule-of-law state?

[Dragulin] According to the Constitution, the Public Ministry is dutybound to defend the general interests of the society and the lawful order legitimized by the electorate's vote. All other law-envisaged prerogatives are subordinated to this principle. One can add to this that the Public Ministry also has the duty of ensuring that all citizens are equal before the law. Our charter stipulates that nobody is above the law, hence it is our duty to see to it that this provision—from a mere abstract formula—turns into a palpable reality. Therefore, the Public Ministry is a key institution of the state of law, because it ensures the observation of the law and its uniform application for all citizens, throughout the country. As a matter of fact it is the main instrument in the struggle against crime. The prosecutor is called upon to sue all those who violate the law. There are very many other principles that govern our activity, but one of them which deserves to be pointed out is the assumption of innocence, meaning that nobody must be considered guilty until a court has passed a verdict to that extent and that person was sentenced by a final court decision. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] Certain foreign journalists left the impression that they envy us for having a law like Law No. 18 which stipulates wealth control, dating back to 1968. "The law should be only 'polished' here and there, not abrogated," a French expert said. How would you comment that statement?

[Dragulin] It is very easy to give advise to others. But I wonder whether the French Government would give the green light for such a law in France. Personally, I have nothing against everybody accounting to society for the way in which they have acquired their money. In a recent interview with a weekly magazine, I said that all I own is a pretty old automobile and two reserved burial places in a graveyard. Therefore, I cannot be suspected of taking anybody's side. However, I would like to emphasize that it is high time that everybody should cease breaking the law, under any pretext.

Turkish Ambassador Views Trade Relations, NATO

AU1511100493 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Oct 93 pp 1,8

[Interview with Yaman Baskut, ambassador to Bucharest of the Republic of Turkey, by Bogdan Chirieac; place and date not given: "Exports—The Secret of Revitalizing the Economy"]

[Text] [Chirieac] Mr. Ambassador, within the 70 years that have passed since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, an explosive development has taken place in your country in the last decade, compared by some people to the development of the four Asian "tigers." Would you please explain this phenomenon?

[Baskut] Starting with the political structure and ending with the socio-economic structure, a complete and comprehensive conversion of the modern Turkish state has taken place in the period since 1923. On a domestic plane, the population has increased from 13 million to 60 million. At that time [in 1923], we had one single important town, that is Istanbul. Today, we have over 18 important towns. The social changes have also been extraordinary. For example, in 1923 we had 5,000 schools and 12,000 teachers. Today we have 70,000 schools with over half a million teaching staff. On an economic plane, Turkey has become an industrial state, with exports amounting to about $18 billion annually, of which 85 percent is industrial production. Between 1981 and 1983 the pace of our economy's growth was 5 percent annually, the highest among the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries.

[Chirieac] What is the secret of such an economic growth?

[Baskut] I believe that the success lies in the liberal policy promoted by Turkey since the beginning of 1981. As far as privatization is concerned, Turkey might also be a source of inspiration for Romania. In that period, the state sector has been reduced from 90 percent of the economy's potential to the current 50 percent. However, I believe that a significant contribution to Turkey's current prosperity has been made by our very high exports.

[Chirieac] Turkey's presence in Romania with goods and capital is much in evidence. To what extent do you consider that the Romanian market offers a real interest for the Turkish investors?

[Baskut] Traditionally, economic relations between Romania and Turkey have always been good. Since the December 1989 revolution, exports of Turkish goods to Romania have increased by 320 percent. In practical terms this means that our exports have soared from $53 million in 1989 to $173 million in 1993. However, Romania exports more goods to Turkey than it imports from Turkey. Romanian exports have increased by 7 percent. There is an enormous potential for cooperation between the two countries. Considering that in 1992 1 million Romanians visited Turkey and considering the number of Turkish firms in Romania that export goods to third countries, I believe that the total figure for import-export operations between our countries easily exceeds $1 billion.

[Chirieac] After the revolution, Turkey was the only European country with a market economy that did not require a visa from Romanian citizens. How do you explain this?

[Baskut] We did not ask for visas from Romanians because the free circulation of people helped us very much. Romanians had the opportunity to see that Turkey has changed a lot in recent years. This led to a better familiarization with the markets in the two countries. Millions of people are involved in trade carried out from a suitcase, trade that is ultimately beneficial to the citizens of both countries. We should also recall here that the distance separating our countries is very small: One can fly between Bucharest and Istanbul in 55 minutes, which is the same as between Istanbul and Ankara.

[Chirieac] What future do you see for cooperation within the common market of the Black Sea Countries?

[Baskut] Before I was appointed ambassador to Bucharest I was the general secretary of that organization. I know it very well and, therefore, I believe that there is extraordinary potential for cooperation within that market. It is a matter of fact that regional cooperation is welcome in the new European structure.

[Chirieac] Mr. Ambassador, what is Turkey's opinion about the expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance and what do you believe about the issue of the Eastern European countries' integration into NATO?

[Baskut] The expansion of NATO is an issue on which all its 16 members have to decide unanimously. So far the Alliance has not expressed a view in this respect. As far as the integration of Eastern European countries is concerned, Turkey will never accept an integration that uses two speeds. That is, all the six countries must be admitted together at the same time. Turkey will continue to support this idea. As a matter of fact, it would not be the first time that Turkey has supported Romania in international bodies. Two years ago, the Turkish deputies in the Council of Europe were among the first to agree to Romania's acceptance as a member with complete rights by that body.

[Chirieac] Thank you.

Turkey's Cetin Meets Silajdzic, Presidency Members

AU1211204493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Nada Rajkovic report on news conferences by member of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Ejub Ganic; Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin; and Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, in Sarajevo on 12 November—recorded]

[Text] [Rajkovic] After holding talks with the Presidency members, Presidency member Ejup Ganic and Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin gave statements to reporters.

[Ganic] We have exchanged views with our esteemed guest and friend. We analyzed the general situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and we are satisfied with their efforts to help us overcome all the problems that can be overcome in talks with the Croatian delegation. As you can see, Turkey is constantly trying to help a just peace to be reached in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is one of our regular exchange of views. I informed our guest about the views of the Presidency, about some of our thoughts concerning future talks and ways of reaching a just peace.

[Rajkovic] Stressing that the talks concerned humanitarian aid and how the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina were to survive the winter, Hikmet Cetin said:

[Cetin, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] As you all know, as a NATO member we are helping to implement the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we have always stressed the need for a just peace and stability in this region. We should apply the values of democratic societies to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been recognized as a sovereign state, based on London Conference and UN Security Council resolutions. Unfortunately every plan that we have had so far has been worse than the one before. That is why we should not forget basic principles and Turkey has always insisted that it would act in cooperation with the international community. When the UN secretary general said that there were not enough UN forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, we officially informed the United Nations that Turkey would provide its own forces for the UN mission. We believe that no agreement can be implemented without a sufficient number of forces, and the world must be prepared for that.

As for the humanitarian aspect, Turkey has been doing all that it can from the start, and intends to continue doing so. However, as far as the peace process is concerned, we have been stressing that it is important to carry out a territorial redistribution. I said in Brussels at the meeting of the Twelve that Bosnia-Herzegovina had the right to territory, and claimed that the world had to exert pressure on the Serbs to accept that fact.

[Rajkovic] All the problems have to be solved in a peaceful way. This was one of the conclusions of today's meeting. At the end of the visit by the Croatian and the Turkish delegations, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic, and Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin gave statements.

[Silajdzic] We have agreed to hold another meeting in about seven days at the top military and political levels, which is to take place at a certain location in order to solve the current problems connected with military operations in areas controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. We have agreed that war operations have to stop and the problems have to be solved in a peaceful manner.

As for the humanitarian situation, most of our talks concerned humanitarian problems. Both delegations, with the support of Mr. Cetin, are appealing to the United Nations, the EC, and NATO to protect the humanitarian corridors with force if need be. Those corridors have to be open. [repeats himself] So we are appealing to the United Nations, the EC, and NATO to protect the corridors with force if need be and as soon as possible. We have also agreed to send two convoys to Bosnia urgently. One would go to Nova Bila and the other to a location yet to be specified. We have also agreed to work on all the current problems, starting with those concerning electricity and the dams on the Neretva River, and finally we will continue to work on the exchange of prisoners. So these are the issues that we discussed and the points that we agreed on. I will leave you now to my guests, Minister Granic and Minister Cetin.

[Granic] As you have heard, we held talks about all the political, military, and humanitarian issues and problems, based on the Geneva conference and the fundamental principles, the declaration signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and the Vienna statement.

We have agreed that there should be no offensive activities during the next five to seven days, and then the top military representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO should meet, as should the political delegations. We will then discuss the final organization of relations between the two sides, and an agreement has been reached concerning that—we will establish the time and place for this meeting tomorrow.

As for the overall humanitarian aspect, we both completely support the freedom of movement of humanitarian convoys to all those who need [word indistinct] without exception. We have agreed, as Prime Minister Silajdzic has said, that the next two convoys will set off. For us it is very important that the first one goes to the Nova Bila hospital.

We also discussed the exchange of prisoners, and how to resume the exchange that has been initiated, and how to release all the prisoners as soon as possible. That is what we can tell you at the moment.

[Cetin, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Of course we are looking for peace and stability in this region. We are a close friend of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we are friends with Croatia, and all the other countries in this region. All the issues have been discussed at today's meeting, and I think that it was a very productive and very useful meeting. For my part, I have tried to contribute, and from now on I will try to contribute, to the implementation of this protocol and agreement. However, I think that it is the responsibility of the world community to contribute to the implementation of this agreement.

Silajdzic on Cease-Fire Accord

AU1211220993 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2104 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo by Robert Hochner in Vienna; in English with simultaneous German translation—live]

[Text] [Hochner] In the Bosnian capital Sarajevo Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic have issued a new appeal for an immediate cease-fire. I am now connected with Prime Minister Silajdzic in the Bosnian capital. Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister. Mr. Prime Minister, there have been numerous appeals for a cease-fire in Bosnia. Is there any chance that this new appeal will be more successful?

[Silajdzic] We have not agreed on a cease-fire. We have agreed not to carry out any offensives until the highest-ranking military officers have met, within five to seven days. This is an agreement. We have not proclaimed a cease-fire.

[Hochner] Do you believe that the Croats—either those fighting in Bosnia or the Croatian Government—are ready for a cease-fire?

[Silajdzic] I believe that some in the Croatian Government are ready for peace and for an agreement. Unfortunately, there are other circles that have a negative influence on the policy of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as has been the case for a year and a half. We hope that the positive elements will prevail, so that we will finally come to a peace there for the benefit of the innocent civilian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Hochner] The war in Bosnia has been a three-sided war between Croats, Serbs, and Muslims. Do you think that it is possible to establish a cease-fire between the Croats and the Muslims without talking to the Serbs?

[Silajdzic] Well, first of all, we do not call it a war but an aggression. When what happens is the slaughter of innocent civilians, this is not a war. For a war you need at least two tanks, one on each side. There is a civilian population that is being attacked, that is being subjected to aggression by the regime in Belgrade. We are the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and we try to take care of all our inhabitants—Croats, Muslims, Serbs, Jews, and others. I do not think that real peace is possible between two sides only. I believe that all the sides have to agree to peace.

[Hochner] The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Karadzic, has laid claim to Sarajevo as a Serb city. What do you say to that?

[Silajdzic] I will not comment on that.

[Hochner] Does the fact that you talked to the Croatian foreign minister mean that you have given up hope for international help, that is, help from the United Nations or the EC?

[Silajdzic] I think there should be international mediation, but before that there should be recognition of the facts in Bosnia. It is a fact that there is an aggression in Bosnia, that there is starvation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the humanitarian situation is terrible, dramatic. That is why Foreign Minister Granic and I myself are today appealing to the international community, to the United Nations, to the EC, and to NATO to protect the humanitarian corridors with military force. This is the only way for the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to survive. These humanitarian convoys and corridors must be protected from any interference. Regardless of who interferes—he should be attacked from the air or from the ground.

[Hochner] The winter has started in your country. Do you see a chance for the population to survive this second winter without food and without fuel?

[Silajdzic] This is a very good question. There is a lot of food around in Bosnia-Herzegovina; there is a lot of fuel in the port of Ploce in Croatia. The problem is that people are blocking the convoys. This is not a natural disaster, but a man-made one. Those who block the convoys should be punished. They should either go away or they should be attacked from the air or from the ground so that the convoys can get through.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview and good evening to Sarajevo.

Silajdzic, Presidency Members Meet Russian Envoy

Silajdzic, Churkin, Ganic Comment

LD1311202793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Bosnian Presidency members Ejup Ganic, Mirko Pejanovic, and Ivo Komsic had talks in

Sarajevo today with Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin. The topics discussed were the possibilities for resuming the peace talks and the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Unidentified correspondent] Vitaliy Churkin and Haris Silajdzic discussed important issues: the resumption of the peace process and the humanitarian situation. In a brief address to domestic and foreign journalists after the talks, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] "We discussed the resumption of the peace process and the humanitarian situation; these were the two issues we discussed. We agreed, of course, that the peace process must be continued as soon as possible. As far as the humanitarian situation is concerned, all possible humanitarian corridors should be opened to allow food and fuel for heating into Bosnia-Herzegovina before the winter sets in."

[Unidentified correspondent] After that, journalists were addressed by Vitaliy Churkin.

[Churkin, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] "I appreciate the opportunity to have had another meeting with Silajdzic, with whom I have established very good working relations and now meeting him in his new capacity.

"These were very important and good talks in which we discussed topics that Silajdzic has mentioned. I am hoping that the arrangements regarding gas supplies to Sarajevo from Russia will soon be completed. This will be very important for the improvement of the humanitarian situation in the city. I am also hoping that peace will be restored in this part of the world and that the long process of negotiations will be completed. For the time being we are going to continue with talks and meetings with other interested parties from the countries that have actively been involved in the process.

"We have managed to exchange views on a certain number of issues that can be resolved, and also on meetings that could take place in the days and weeks to come."

[Unidentified correspondent] Vitaliy Churkin also had a meeting today with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency members Ejup Ganic, Mirko Pejanovic, and Ivo Komsic. Of course, the topics discussed were the future of the peace process and the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Following the talks Presidency member Ejup Ganic stated:

[Ganic] "We have briefed Churkin about the details of the decision adopted by our assembly regarding future negotiations on the peaceful resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have informed him of the stances that our assembly has assumed, we informed our guest about the details, about dilemmas, whereby we stressed the importance of a quality agreement, a quality peace. [words indistinct] we are thankful to Russia for having supported the idea right from the beginning on the convocation of a global conference. It should be taken into consideration that all that has been achieved so far in an acceptable and quality way can be used for the talks when a global conference is organized.

"We also stressed here that it is the citizens' inalienable right to private ownership and stressed the fact that our citizens' property—their houses, fields, and cultivated land—have remained on the territory currently controlled by the aggressor. Private ownership is a sacred thing. Therefore, this must be one of the first postulates for further negotiations. At the same time we stressed that a global conference would treat things at a completely equal level and would find a common name for human rights and the rights of minorities, so that it does not become necessary for the international community to again organize a conference for Sandzak, a conference for Vojvodina, a conference for Kosovo, a conference for Macedonia, Albania, [word indistinct] for the Serbs in Croatia; at a global well-prepared conference it would be possible to resolve all that.

"We thanked Churkin for his efforts, the dynamism that he has introduced into these talks and have agreed to keep in contact. We will keep him informed of everything taking place here—of course we have drawn his attention to the concentration of Serb troops in the vicinity of Sarajevo, the deployment of fresh troops in the area of Brcko, attacks on the region of Olovo, and the atmosphere that the Serb machinery has been creating with a view to engaging in further provocations and further attacks against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

[Unidentified correspondent] In his address to journalists Vitaliy Churkin said:

[Churkin, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] "We did indeed have a very wide-ranging discussion on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not only within the context of former Yugoslavia, but also in the international context.

"Unfortunately, nowadays the world is full of bloody conflicts that attract the attention of both the world and regional powers. Some of these countries where the conflicts are taking place have been actively involved in the search for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Therefore, in my mind, this is yet another reason why the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina ought to be resolved by political means as soon as possible. I am expressing my view and I believe that we should not wait for a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including other issues and preparations of other conferences. [sentence as heard] This can be useful at a certain moment in the future. But to prepare all the conferences requires much time. We should not wait, we should restore peace in Bosnia now. I have expressed understanding of the hardships that the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are experiencing while thinking of any kind of a peace

agreement, at least that kind of a peace agreement that has been reached in the process of negotiations. [sentence as heard]

"But I also expressed our stance that it can be very difficult for many people to accept such peace, but it would be even more difficult for the people to wage a war in a devastated country. I gave our promise that we will continue to exercise influence on all those we can in order to make sure that there is as little fighting as possible and that the political progress and negotiations continue." [end recording]

Further on Churkin's Remarks

AU1311202093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Marica Lalovic report from Pale]

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, deputy Russian foreign minister and President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, met with Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo today. The talks mainly focused on the possible continuation of peace talks and the conditions that need to be created and met for the continuation of these talks.

Assessing the talks, Vitaliy Churkin stated that he hoped and believed that peace could be accomplished throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as in Yugoslavia, but that such talks are needed in which all interested sides can take part.

What can be done immediately here and now, both Vitaliy Churkin and the Muslim side agree, is to secure an unhindered passage for humanitarian convoys throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I hope that an agreement will be signed soon that will enable Russia to continue delivering gas to Sarajevo, which will no doubt improve the humanitarian situation, Vitaliy Churkin stated after the talks.

Serb Leader Karadzic Meets With Churkin

LD1211?05893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Pale, 12 November (TANJUG)—Republic of Srpska president Radovan Karadzic said after a meeting with Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin in Pale today that Russia is playing an increasingly important role on the international political scene and that Russia's stances and support for a peaceful resolution of the crisis are thus very important for the republic of Srpska.

Commenting on the talks today, Karadzic said that best results were achieved in establishing new routes for humanitarian aid, primarily from Bar and Belgrade, across Serb territory, to Sarajevo and Tuzla, and also through Gradiska and Banja Luka into central Bosnia.

Of course, we also discussed the possibilities of a political solution to the current situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and my impression is that all relevant international circles are now also interested in such an option, Karadzic said.

Vitaliy Churkin stressed how much Russia was interested in bringing an end to the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and noted that everyone in the world was tired of the war.

"I asked Dr. Karadzic to give me his view of the humanitarian situation in the area, with a detailed explanation of the initiatives regarding the corridors for humanitarian aid deliveries.

"The proposals are interesting and I will try in the next few days to forward them to our partners in the EC and other countries that are interested in providing aid," Churkin said.

Reporters asked Karadzic and Churkin how they viewed the Franco-German initiative for resolving the conflict in Bosnia.

I believe that the sanctions should have been lifted by now because the Serb side accepted a peace plan that the international community went to great lengths to draw up, Karadzic said. If the initiative is sincere, and not just political trickery, we will be ready to reconsider the concessions we withdrew in one form or another, and we will also be ready to discuss the quality of the territories, not just the quantity.

I believe that our endeavors should be directed toward the creation of three states that will be able to survive either together or separately, Karadzic said, adding that Europe was taking over the leading role in resolving the Bosnian crisis and that this was the first time that Germany had no objections to the partition of Bosnia.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin assessed the Franco-German initiative as one of the ideas about how to end the war in former Bosnia and that it deserved attention as such. We have already had consultations on this with the German Foreign Ministry and other partners from the EC, and we will be holding more talks on this subject during our visits to Rome and Athens over the next couple of days. We are in constant touch with our American partners and we shall continue with our efforts to resolve the Bosnian crisis, Churkin said.

He emphasized that the Bonn-Paris initiative contained a new element, which concerns the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY, and he expressed his hope that the stand of important factors in the international community was changing in this respect. Churkin described the initiative as a constructive contribution to the resolution of accumulated humanitarian problems in Bosnia.

Karadzic Comments on German-French Proposal

AU1411223993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Interview with Republic of Srpska President Radovan Karadzic by Marica Lalovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] I believe that the sanctions should have already been lifted because the Serbian side has accepted a peace plan that the international community formulated with great efforts. Even in that plan, we renounced a lot; we have renounced some definitely Serbian territories. If this initiative is really serious and not some political game to justify the mistakes made by German diplomacy so far, we are now willing to reexamine the concessions that we withdrew in the original or some other form. We are also willing to discuss the quality of the territories involved. The territories expressed in percentages do not mean much. I sometimes joke—and it is not only a joke—that we are willing to give even 3 or 4 percent of the territory if we get Sarajevo from the Muslims. In return for Sarajevo, we will give more territories because Sarajevo is, to a great extent, a Serbian town as well. Therefore, we are willing to work hard, but we believe that the international community is making a mistake by setting a quota of 2, 3, or 4 percent, which actually does not say anything about the structure and importance of these territories. I believe that we must concentrate on creating three states that can exist either together or apart.

[Lalovic] Is the proposal that includes and connects the concessions of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather the republic of Srpska, with the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY perhaps an attempt to quarrel with the Serbs on both sides of the Drina River as well as an attempt to make the people in the FRY who are suffering because of the unfair sanctions tell us on this side of the river that we are not ready to give away something that is ours for the sake of their well-being?

[Karadzic] We first thought that this was what was precisely involved, especially now in the electoral period—to make the Serbs on both sides of the Drina River quarrel and to influence the elections in Serbia. This could also be a motif. We also thought that perhaps German diplomacy is trying to demonstrate something constructive, considering that so far it has been mostly destructive. However, my aides jokingly admit that the Germans never joke and that they are seriously proposing this.

All these possibilities must be examined. If this is truly a serious proposal, then we must examine it, naturally without paying such strict attention to quantity because percentages do not mean much. A territory is more important in its structure and character. There is also the question of where this 3 percent would be, whether just on the Serbian side or whether the Croatian side will also have to do something, and whether all 3 percent or perhaps only 1 or 1.5 percent, and so forth. All in all, we are not rejecting it. On the contrary, we want to discuss it. However, we hope that the international community does not set conditions. We were set a quota once before—namely, that the Muslims must get 30 percent, which we met through great efforts and sacrifices, and now it truly makes no sense to continue with such endeavors. However, it makes sense to talk. I believe that it is more important to the Muslims for their state to function than to have the quantity.

[Lalovic] From the other side of the ocean, it can be heard that the United States is not considering the possibility of lifting the sanctions against the FRY and that this is not even being contemplated. Can this be equated with this proposal, and precisely what does this French-German proposal actually mean?

[Karadzic] I believe that Europe is assuming the leading role in resolving the crisis here, because Europe is the most responsible for continuing the crisis and, therefore, also bears the responsibility for helping to find a solution. I believe that the whole purpose is to demonstrate a European initiative.

I believe that the United States will, nevertheless, agree to the lifting of sanctions, if we draw closer to a solution. All of Europe is suffering due to the sanctions, even the German economy is suffering because of the sanctions. All our neighboring countries—that is, the Yugoslav neighboring counties—are suffering thanks to the sanctions. There is a growing conviction that the sanctions are unjust and that they do not have any effect with the exception of causing further complications and tensions. I believe that the European countries are also guided by this, knowing that the time has come to lift the sanctions, and they would also like to contribute.

An encouraging novelty in all of this is that Germany, for the first time, does not dispute the division of Bosnia into three parts, but disputes the quantity of the territory. Therefore, for the first time, Germany is accepting that Bosnia should be reorganized into three states.

Izetbegovic Speaks to Officials in Zenica 14 Nov

LD1511153393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2320 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report on a speech by Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic to senior officials in Zenica on 14 November by an unidentified announcer—recorded]

[Text] [Izetbegovic] The issue whether it is still possible for Bosnia-Herzegovina to exist in the way that it used to—it can no longer exist in this way, actually, it cannot exist as it used to. It is not possible for the Serb-Croat-Muslim Bosnia, as a common state with joint governments, joint presidencies, to which they would delegate chetniks and ustashas, that government which we have been trying to maintain because of its legitimacy—it is not possible for this to exist. This is my

conviction after all the hardship that we have experienced. This is just one detail: we form a government and they say that the minister of finance is a good Bosnian and so on. Then he comes and one obstruction follows another. Pelivan, [words indistinct] the governor of the bank, what was his name....[pauses] A state in which a large, a huge number of people is disloyal cannot exist. It cannot function. This is not only an issue of loyalty. A large number of people attacked that state—those people who are supposed to defend it. They took to the forests and started shooting, destroying it.

Some keep insisting that it is viable. I am telling you: it is not viable. One day it will be possible to set up a new, different Bosnia-Herzegovina, but with them it is not possible. I have spent one and one-half years as a peacetime president and one and one-half years as a wartime president. My experience—and I think it is also your experience if you wish to be honest with yourselves—is that such a state is not viable.

I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to tell you how I think it is possible, I do not think we should give up Bosnia-Herzegovina, [words indistinct]. Because we have suffered so many casualties, and because we have sustained such great torments, our task is to fight finally to have a state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have the right to it. And we are aware of it. I think that we should wage that struggle in two phases: in phase one we should militarily secure the liberation of areas which used to be predominantly populated by Muslims, because it is the people who have suffered most, who are most interested in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The people are surely loyal because they do not have another homeland, and they paid the highest price in the war for Bosnia- Herzegovina.

With a view to the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, phase two of the struggle should be waged by political means, in my opinion. I am not sure that we will be able to conquer Drvar, Banja Luka, and Trebinje by military means. I am not sure. Perhaps we will be able to. I am even sure that we could do it if we had the weapons. But if the international situation remains the same, or rather, if the unfavorable situation remains the same, we will most probably have to wage phase two by taking into consideration the time factor, in the same way that West Germany succeeded in seeuing Germany reunited, not by using military means, but by the supremacy of the political model that was in power there.

When we look at Bosnia we have so-called bright periods and dark periods, periods under one or another kind of fascism—it does not matter whether it is Serb or Croat fascism. Here we have something that is under the control of our army and government, in those parts where we are trying—not completely successfully—somehow to maintain a certain level of democracy and civilisation, a certain level of human liberty, which is of course subject to the same objective limitations because of the war, but in which there have been persistant attempts to build a civilized life.

Despite the fact that they expelled the population from Vares—it was not our doing—they expelled it and we will explain why—there are still approximately 1,000 Croats there. A number of Croats is returning. No one will get hurt and we would not be what we are, we would not be the democratic authorities we call ourselves if we [words indistinct].

In this free part of Bosnia-Herzegovina we will try to establish the kind of authorities that people deserve at the end of the 20th century which will lay down some minimal and fundamental standards of civilized life, a civilized way of life, while never giving up and never forgetting that other part. Translated into the language of politics, this means we have a Bosnia-Herzegovina where no one will be persecuted for their religious beliefs, for their nationality, or for their political beliefs. No one should be persecuted for these three things. This could be the mainstay of all this.

Everything else can be changed here and there. Other things may be defined in various ways, but this, I believe, is here to stay. I believe that this, together with the principle of a free market and everything it can yield, can defeat this evil that still reigns across the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After all, we control the most prosperous and developed part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was just an opportunity for me to tell you that it is impossible to live in their [not further specified] way anyway. To return to that kind of Bosnia-Herzegovina.... [pauses] What is the meaning of the Muslim [word indistinct], or a Muslim-Croatian-Serbian Bosnia-Herzegovina? A Bosnia-Herzegovina made up of three constituent peoples will be shaped in such a way whereby it will not be up to us to decide what kind of Serbs will take part in government. It will be up to them to decide. And they will, of course, decide to delegate to chetniks so we will have chetniks in our government.

People will ask, how can you have a democratic government including ustashas and chetniks, that is Serbs, who will then either directly undermine this state or obstruct it on every occasion [words indistinct]? In this way, of course, it will never be possible to achieve a reasonable degree of normal existence. Nor will it be possible to reach any level of living standards since there will be constant obstructions, thefts etc.

As one of our good journalists has said, unfortunately, I believe that we must abandon some of our dear delusions. If we fail to do this, I am afraid, we will pay a very high price. We have to dispel some of our delusions, no matter how much we cherish them. We must face this reality.

I believe that we are not indebted to anyone. Everyone is indebted to us. We do not owe anything to anyone. Under the rule of Bosnia-Herzegovina's authorities and army, for the sake of our own principles, we will strive to achieve in this part of Bosnia- Herzegovina a level of existence, a system governed by democratic principles, human freedoms and—what I have already called a

definition in negative terms—a system which will not persecute anyone affiliated to any religion, nation, or political organization.

Let us try to do this. I believe that this is within our reach, realistically possible. Let us combine this with the fact that on this territory, which nevertheless encompasses the most developed parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the valleys of Bosna and Neretva—as well as with the fact that it will probably be we who will be helped by the world in overcoming this misfortune, in rising from these ashes. Surely, everyone will help us, both the East and the West. There are those who count on the West and its serious remorse for denying us military aid and preventing us from defending ourselves. They have some plans for Bosnia-Herzegovina's reconstruction. They will probably provide us with that first impetus, they will give some capital so we can rise above this misfortune here.

I also believe that the Muslim world, too, will help. It could not help militarily. Apart from this, there is a great deal of good will to help us. The balance of power and the powers reigning here etc. have, however, brought about a situation in which the Muslim world cannot significantly help for the time being. Nevertheless, it is absolutely certain that the Muslim world will be one of the very important factors in the future reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bearing all these facts in mind, I believe we can get through—naturally, provided we survive over the next few—this difficult half year ahead of us. I believe we have the rationality, the self-confidence, and the strength to take us into the future.

[Announcer] The aggressor has unleashed a huge machinery of war against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The world has not given us a chance but we have survived and we are putting up excellent resistance, Alija Izetbegovic says, and recalls Carrington's words to the effect that we do not have any chance against such forces.

[Izetbegovic] He said we must conclude a direct peace with the chetniks (?at all costs) and when I told him we could not do this and that we would not do this, he asked: Well, fine, what will you do? I said that we would fight. He said: Mr. president, do you know what you are saying? What do you think you will fight with? Do you know who you are dealing with here? It is an enormous arsenal of weapons, and how do you think you are going to cope? So do not put your neck on the block and do not place the fate of the people at risk. You will be destroyed, you will be crushed. We cannot get into this. It is not we who can put up resistance because we believe that this war would claim 100,000 of our people in this battle. You have no chance at all. What do you think you will fight with?

So what he was saying was not illogical, and it is not irrational either. And that is how it seemed. And today, when I sometimes meet some of these foreigners, they just shrug their shoulders, and in so doing they give us recognition of a king; how shall I put it, they are amazed, they are amazed that we are basically preserving ourselves, that we have so far managed to stay in one piece. We have been fighting for 20 months now—even under conditions of this second, unfortunate, front [reference to Abdic's forces in the Bihac enclave], which we tried to avoid in all ways.

[Announcer] President Izetbegovic devoted a good deal of time to the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina from the other side and the shortsightedness of the policy pursued by Croatia, which itself is now under threat of having the Bosnian recipe applied to Krajina. He spoke of our reciprocal view of the separatist processes on Croatian soil.

[Izetbegovic] This is perhaps an opportunity for me to tell you about our attitude to Croatia, something that is sometimes met with misunderstanding on the part of some people. People ask why on earth am I still going to Zagreb? Why have I failed to brand them as aggressors? Why have I failed to say that they, too, are involved here?

We simply wanted to avoid what every sensible man would have tried to do under such circumstances. We wanted to avoid a second frontline. It takes very little common sense to realize that every army in every war has tried to avoid having two fronts. One is enough. Who would have liked to experience something even worse than the frontline we already had. They have been constantly imposing a second frontline and [words indistinct] in Belgrade.

Whoever concocted this second frontline of ours, well, you simply have to say: brilliant, well done. It was really a clever move. They are now laughing as we fight the battle of Fojnica. They are delighted as it is they who concocted it, very cleverly, in some centers. One has to show his appreciation. They could have done nothing better to advance their cause than to draw us into waging war against the Croatians.

As a result we are bleeding around Zepce and in other places. Nevertheless, we will finish this job. The harder they pressed us into this war the harder we, of course, resisted being drawn into this war because we knew what it would mean. This means having two fronts and the blockade of our vital communications—Split- Sarajevo, Split-Zenica. We understood that this meant no fuel, no food—this means everything we are experiencing now. We were aware of this situation and this is why we tried in every way not to fall into this trap. This is why we were negotiating and signing various papers, so as to avoid this—no matter how slim the chances were. But there was no way we could have avoided it because Croatia also appeared to have been working on its own self- destruction, something that is sometimes impossible to anticipate.

If you drive along a road and someone swerves across it, you cannot be blamed. How could we have known that the Croatian driver was going to swerve across and crash

into us on our side? How could have we anticipated a move that was suicidal? You expect him to stick to his side for reasons of his own safety rather than yours. And yes, you expect him on the righthand side only to see him crashing into your car on the wrong side.

One could not have anticipated this, believing that they had at least enough common sense to realize that such moves were absolutely damaging to them. We knew that they would lose if they started, that we would crush them in Bosnia. Nevertheless, we knew that this would make our situation even more difficult simply because we would not be able to fight the other side, those who attacked us first. They have now created enemies among the Croatian people and a situation in which, as they expected, Krajina would start being flexible, as some stupid people in Zagreb were predicting. They thought that by sacrificing us in Bosnia they would motivate Krajina into saying: Well, we are going to give up this republic.

On the contrary, they are being ever more vocal in their desire to have a republic in Krajina. After all, one day, probably at the first international meeting, will say: The Krajina Serbs have a right to their own republic. [Word indistinct] told us it was their right to have a republic. This is what we are going to say because it is they who created all this misery. They continue to create this misery.

[Announcer] The Croatian side's insincerity is illustrated best by its latest attack on Fojnica, launched during Mate Granic's visit to Sarajevo. Unless Zagreb renounces Boban there can be no talk of its goodwill, he said.

[Izetbegovic] The chetniks have taken another delivery of tanks, [words indistinct]. This is something we do not know about. These tanks are attempting to destroy the city. We have, of course, taken some countermeasures, [words indistinct] and I believe that we will manage to stabilize this situtaion.

You can, however, see what kind of situation we have ended up in. We knew that this was being prepared in Belgrade and God knows where else. One day, if they open the archives, perhaps we will know about everything that has been going on here. However, the most clever trick the chetniks could have played, the most intelligent move is this confrontation between us and the Croats. And now they can sit down and watch as we and the Croatians are doing their job. We are doing it reluctantly whereas the Croatians are doing it of their own volition.

We did not want this. We did our best to avoid this. And we are still trying. You see, yesterday, I met that man Granic. We are trying to find some possible way out. Of course, now they, too, want this; Granic has now come to Sarajevo. For a long time he did not want to. I do not believe that there is much to be gained from this. We said that as far as we are concerned Boban's departure is our test of their good will. As long as he carries on here there will be no good will for us.

Hence, to us this is a kind of litmus test. [Words indistinct] whether or not things are improving there. We told them a long time ago that as long as Boban is there we cannot see any sign of good will. Hence, we cannot demonstrate our good will. He and several other criminals who deliberately [word indistinct], they have done worse things to us than the chetniks have.

There are elements of hypocrisy and of all that up there. But down there in Mostar, ethnic cleansing was perpetrated quite intentionally. A plan was drawn up on how to carry it out; down there Boban understood that he did not have to have Croats [word indistinct] between Neum and the River Sava if he can expel them, when those up in central Bosnia and in Bosnian Posavina do not obey him at all. Then he takes the baton and pushes all of them toward Herzegovina, which he did in Bugojno before and in Vares recently. It was all very clear; the Ahmic case was clear, it was a well-planned action—not Ahmic but Stupni Do. After that they started shouting that the Bosnians are coming, killing everything in their path; take your things, you have an hour, otherwise...-..[pauses] What could the poor people have done, poor people, really poor people. That is nevertheless our Bosnian people [words indistinct] What can the people do. They do not know. They have gone down there now. In reality, there is a desire to create down there.-...[pauses] First they emptied the Muslim houses down there in Stolac and Mostar. In Pocitelj they completely emptied the houses. According to Boban's plan, the Croat population should now move into them. You know that they have destroyed the old 400 to 500-year old mosque, a mosque that was an architectural gem. That is a premeditated crime. The first one was also a premeditated crime, but this one is a cold-blooded crime, this is killing in cold blood.

[Announcer] The president went on to explain some dilemmas and uncertainties regarding the future concept of Bosnia- Herzegovina in the sense of whether there will be a resurgence of the Serb and Croat appetites in the newly founded Bosnian civilian republic.

[Izetbegovic] We have to build a civilized state here, otherwise we do not stand any chance. We should not create a purely Muslim state here, we should not do that. However, it will happen, as one says, via pacti [previous two words in Latin—in a peaceful way] because it cannot be done in any other way.

Nevertheless, this will be a state with 80 percent Muslims and will be as Muslim or Bosniak as France is French, despite the fact that there are some Germans living in Alsace and Lorraine, and 3 million Arabs, and so on. But France is a state, and the prime minister, the president of the republic, and the ministers are all French and it cannot be otherwise.

But, I hold that the fact that there will be 10 percent of each of them [Serbs and Croats] does not change the

situation that the people that created that state should have all the rights, of course not violating the rights of the minorities.

[Announcer] The Bosnian people will proceed from its own interests, which means that a different constellation of relations in this war should not be ruled out, and the offered Bar-Sarajevo corridor is the first proof of that.

[Izetbegovic] Some thought that we could not do it with this [not further specified], but we can. However, we will not allow ourselves to be blockaded. I was asked whether I would accept the Bar-Sarajevo corridor. Why not? Why not if there is a Split-Sarajevo corridor? I do not think that the Serbs are any worse than the Croats there. Why not? And if we can open up those corridors, why not. We do not harbor any prejudice. I think we are mature as a people, because immature nations have too many moral scruples, they cannot distinguish between politics and morality. Immature nations are too scrupulous. Mature nations are not that scrupulous, they have a sense of self-interest. Therefore, I think that in this respect we are a mature people. We have grown up, we were not so at the outset.

Silajdzic Urges UN To Proclaim Mostar Safe Zone

LD1311234393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has sent a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council which states:

We are addressing you again with a demand to proclaim the town of Mostar and its vicinity a safe zone and, in this connection, to hold an urgent session of the Security Council.

We would like to recall that the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency sent a letter to the UN Security Council on 23 July this year asking for such a decision to be adopted. One month afterward, on 26 August, I sent a letter to Chairperson of the Council Madeleine Albright with a repeated request because of the population's increased suffering, asking the United Nations to adopt a decision without delay on the use of new and strict measures in accordance with point 14 of the UN Security Council Resolution 836, including the proclamation of Mostar as a safe zone.

Unfortunately, neither this demand nor Alija Izetbegovic's address to the UN General Assembly prompted the Security Council to take decisive and effective measures to stop the horrific tragedy experienced by 55,000 citizens and those who fled the actions of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the aggressor, we read in Haris Silajdzic's letter.

The destruction of the Old Bridge, a 427-year old monument of prime category, is not only a barbaric act without precedent, but is also a highly dangerous situation for the survival of more than 10,000 people living on the right bank of the Neretva river in Mostar. We are again calling on you to urgently adopt a decision proclaiming Mostar a safe zone and to take decisive measures by using UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the letter sent by Silajdzic to the chairman of the UN Security Council says in conclusion.

Silajdzic Addresses UN on 'Alarming' Gas Situation

LD1411202193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Regarding the alarming situation in supplying Bosnia-Herzegovina with natural gas—a situation that can produce very serious consequences for the survival of the population in our state under winter conditions because of the lack of fuel—Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic sent a letter today to the Security Council, the UN Sanctions Committee, and the UNHCR. The letter says:

Despite all demands by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding natural gas supplies to our republic, the current supply to Sarajevo has been discontinued. The quantities of gas intermittently reaching the city are insignificant. It is well known that Zenica, Visoko, and Kakanj have not had any gas since October 1992.

Yesterday, 13 November, 10,000 cubic meters of gas per hour were coming from Hungary to the so-called Yugoslavia despite the sanctions. A delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government recently paid a visit to the Russian Federation with a mission to conclude a new agreement on the permanent resolution of gas supplies for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main importer of natural gas for Bosnia-Herzegovina is Enegropetrol company from Sarajevo which has been a participant in these negotiations. This company has so far been in direct negotiations with the Moscow company Gas-export. Unfortunately, in the course of negotiations the Russian side has imposed a company from Serbia, Progress Trading, as the mandatory mediator for the gas supplies to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We have concluded that in this way conditions for the violation of UN sanctions will be created. We would like to see this situation resolved and a control mechanism set up as soon as possible by which unhindered import of natural gas to Bosnia-Herzegovina can be secured.

Serb Official Cited

AU1511121293 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 93 p 10

[Unattributed report: "UN Committee for Sanctions Is Not Even Allowing Gas Imports for the Former Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Text] "It has been agreed with the Muslim side for us and them to allow the unhindered use of natural gas on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that context, our side has taken measures to eliminate all obstacles to gas deliveries to Sarajevo and central Bosnia, toward Zenica. We also expect the other side to adhere to the agreement so that as many people as possible can warm themselves using gas heaters this winter." This was said to us in a statement for POLITIKA by Boro Bosic, minister for energy and industry in the government of Srpska.

"I am saying that the Serbian Republic is not putting any obstacles in the way of deliveries of natural gas to those for whom it is intended," the minister said, adding:

"The UN Committee for Sanctions is making problems regarding gas imports, since this committee has not been approving gas imports even for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The West talks about an imperiled Sarajevo but it is not helping either Sarajevo or the people of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but is hindering them by preventing the importation of gas. What has been arriving are insignificant quantities and no one will get warm with that gas. The situation is serious, particularly in Sarajevo, and the West must know this.

"However, I have to say that the Muslim side is prepared—and has demonstrated this—to cut off its own electricity to cause some kind of reaction in the rest of the world, so the possibility exists that it will do this with gas too," Boro Bosic said.

Izetbegovic: Army 'Stronger,' 'Better Equipped'

AU1211173893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Report by Mirsad Kulender from Zenica]

[Excerpt] President Izetbegovic and his associates visited Zenica today on his tour of the free territories. On this occasion, President Izetbegovic held talks with representatives of the Zenica district as well as communal representatives.

Mr. Izetbegovic stressed during these talks that there were two future political directions for us. The first one is a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina and the expulsion of the aggressor, and the second one is a political struggle, meaning Bosnia-Herzegovina as a framework and the Bosnian Republic within it as the core and guarantee of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The drunkenness of the parastates of Karadzic and Boban's kind must pass. They must sober up. We are much stronger now and the enemies much weaker, even though they are still strong in terms of arms. However, even that factor is on the decline, and our army is becoming morally strong and better equipped every day. The will and desire for the liberation of our country is tremendous. Our concept of the further course in the political future of Bosnia-Herzegovina is dominating. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic: Croats Receiving Aid From 'Chetniks'

LD1411204593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Excerpt] During his visit to the Zenica region President Izetbegovic devoted particular attention to military issues, since the aim of his visit was to assess our forces and our potentials. During his talks with local businessmen, the president mentioned the latest perfidious attack on Fojnica by the ustasha-inspired units of the Croatian Defense Council. The Croat aggressor was actively supported by chetnik tanks on this occasion.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] The chetniks gave them several tanks. We do not know if they had to pay for the tanks or if the tanks were free of charge. They were given the tanks and they have been using them to destroy the town. Of course, we took the necessary countermeasures, and there is no need to worry. I think that we will improve the situation. However, you are aware of the situation we are in at present, and how we fell into a trap that we could see being prepared by those up there in Belgrade or others. Anyway, who knows, perhaps one day when the archives are opened we will know what was taking place.

This conflict between us and the Croats is the most intelligent move that the chetniks could make. We and the Croats are now doing their job, we unwillingly and the Croats by their own choice. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Outlines Government Priorities

AU1211153893 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 5-12 Nov p 5

[The inaugural speech of Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina: "A War Government, But Not a Militant One"]

[Text] "It would be nice if the program of the new government were a vision of the development of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war. I have no doubts that Bosnia-Herzegovina will have a future worthy of the present war and its victims, but we are still confronted with the war. The country against which the neighboring countries are waging war can only have a war government, and this government can only have a war program. I would like to draw a distinction, though, between a war and a militant government," Haris Silajdzic said in the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

1. The most important aim of the program of this government should be the achievement of peace based on the principles defined by the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with strong international guarantees for the implementation of peace treaties and for the prevention of new conflicts, which could be even more serious and dangerous than the present one.

The international powers play a very important role in the peace process, but this does not mean that the government and other legal authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are incapable of making significant steps toward peace. In this sense the government will make concrete steps within its powers. Apart from that, it will submit the appropriate proposals to both the Presidency and the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the scope of their activities.

2. The second important aim that I would like to mention is the survival of the population, because hunger and cold are a mortal danger to the people in the whole free territory.

It is possible to buy food, but the problem lies in the transportation of aid because the roads are blocked. There is no "magic wand" for this problem, but there are ways and means of reaching certain solutions—and this is one of the government's priorities.

3. It is understandable that equally important as the achievement of peace and the survival of the people in winter conditions is the improvement of the defense capacity of the country, especially the strengthening of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina as the key defense factor. Without the army there is no peace and no survival. The government is in this respect confronted with several tasks, from the acquisition of weapons, equipment and other means necessary for the army to be efficient, to the accommodation of the families of army members and especially of the families of dead and wounded soldiers.

4. The government also has major responsibilities toward refugees and displaced persons because almost 2.5 million people are not living in their homes at the moment. Therefore the government has planned a special portfolio for the issues of refugees and displaced persons.

It is clear that the ultimate objective is to enable the refugees and the displaced persons to return to their homes, but the government has to take immediate measures to enable the displaced persons as well as other people to survive this winter. It must also take action to alleviate the difficulties that the displaced persons have regarding accommodation, clothes, food, medical care, and other basic needs.

As far as Bosnian refugees abroad are concerned, the basic task of the government is to solve their status and existence, as well as to create the conditions for them to return, at least to those liberated areas that could accept them.

5. One of the priorities is also to adapt the economic and financial system to the conditions in the country. Production and trade have to be revived. War time requires a war economy. All resources have to serve the defense of the country and the survival of the people. Within a very short period of time the government will prepare proposals with solutions to economic problems and the economic measures to be taken under the present conditions.

6. In spite of the real difficulties, the world sees the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a democratically oriented and open country, the basic values of which are now being attacked by the nationalist aggressors. Based on these values, we want to develop our relations with the world and our foreign policy.

The government will be extremely active not only in contacts with other governments, but also in contacts with the international community, in order to solve the Bosnian problem, this disgrace of the world.

As far as the international community is concerned, we have decided to lodge another protest, because it is applying laws only to the disadvantage of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the victim of foreign aggression. The international community has prevented Bosnia-Herzegovina, a UN member, to make use of its basic right under the UN Charter, the right to self-defense. In this way it has supported the aggression and is indirectly responsible for the deaths of 200,000 people.

We have also planned to remind NATO of its obligation to protect the civilians of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from aggression and murder. Sieges of our towns, artillery attacks, killing and ethnic cleansing are going on in front of the whole world.

We have a clearly defined aim. We want a solution that will ensure a democratic development in this region. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to implement all the relevant UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. We are ready to join the peace process that will enable this.

7. Within this concept I would especially like to dwell on the field of medical care, because it is of vital importance for the defense of the country and for the survival of the people. In this sense, the government will assign the ministry responsible the task of improving medical care for the whole population of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within objective limits.

8. In the field of education, science, culture and sports we cannot, unfortunately, promise very much. The task that the government can take over is the protection of the cultural heritage as far as it can. It can try to protect buildings, equipment, and other things and to do everything to retain the present personnel in these fields.

9. The protection of human rights, the strengthening of law and order, and the guaranteeing of personal safety are the areas where the government will meet its first challenges, and for which it will be responsible to both the people and the Presidency and the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Any violence, injustice, or unlawfulness toward the people, regardless of nationality, who live as loyal citizens in the territory controlled by the legal authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, make people feel unsafe, even where they are being confronted only with regular crime. We must state clearly and confirm through the responsible authorities that crime is not an expression of politics in our state.

Defense Minister Addresses Croat Citizens

AU1211211993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] In a statement today, Bosnia-Herzegovina Defense Minister Hamdija Hadzihasanovic addressed all citizens of Croatian nationality. He addresses them as the eyewitnesses and victims of a conspiracy that has been planned in Belgrade and Zagreb.

All the masks have definitely fallen off, Hadzihasanovic says. Tudjman openly says that the partitioning of the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the historical interest of the Croatian nation, despite the fact that you have opted for a unitary state in the referendum.

Karadzic and Boban are ardently engaged in achieving the most monstrous of projects in the history of mankind: the murder and forceful expulsion of the non-Serbian—that is, the non-Croatian population. There is a firm agreement between them. Karadzic is killing and expelling the Croats and Boban is doing the same with the Serbs, until the territories are completely clean. They are killing and expelling the Bosniaks together. Only the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has opposed this demonic plan.

The army does not destroy religious edifices and does not expel the civilian population, which all the international organizations can confirm. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is not fighting against the Croatian people, but it must lift the sieges of the cities and the territories held by the chetniks and the units of the HVO that are subordinate to Boban.

I call on all the Croats that have left their homes in Vares and other places to return. In order to prove that coexistence is impossible, the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor has accused the Croats for firing mortars on the children in Sarajevo with the aim of provoking retaliation against the Sarajevo Croats, which would result in a mass departure of Croats. The ultimate aim is greater Serbia all the way to Karlovac, Karlobag, and Virovitica, and there would be no place for the Bosniaks or the Croats.

This is said in an address by Defense Minister Hamdija Hadzihasanovic to citizens of Croatian nationality.

'First Stirrings' of 'Islamic Nationalism' Noted

AU1311200193 Paris AFP in English 0102 GMT 12 Nov 93

[By Peter Mackler]

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 12 (AFP)—Bloodied by 19 months of war and feeling abandoned by the West, traditionally secular Bosnian Moslems are facing the first stirrings of an Islamic nationalism that they had resisted for centuries.

Nobody here thinks the small slice of Bosnia that the Moslem-led government still holds is ripe for an Islamic state. But hard-line Moslems, while a distinct minority, are starting to take a higher profile.

Zenica police became embroiled in a shootout Thursday with armed men on a rampage destroying liquor bottles in the bustling downtown cafes of this central Bosnian city, witnesses said. Mujahidin soldiers encamped in a nearby village sullenly walk the streets here and have been seen upbraiding local residents for un- Islamic behaviour, such as couples holding hands in public.

When Bosnian Army troops from Zenica helped take the Croat stronghold of Vares last week, some soldiers marched in chanting "Allah-u Akhbar" (God is Great) behind a large green "Republic of Iran" banner.

Even moderates such as Besim Spahic, mayor of this predominently Moslem city of nearly 200,000 residents and refugees, are becoming more strident when they talk about Islam and the war. In May, Spahic railed against Serbia and Croatia for trying to dismember a multi-ethnic Bosnia. This week he bitterly accused the West of deliberately withholding aid as part of a plot to chase Islam from Europe.

City and religious officials say the influence of radical Islamic groups here is minor but acknowledge that it could grow as Bosnian Moslems become more desperate. "Will these forces take more power? It depends on the behaviour of the world community toward Bosnia," said Ibrahim Babic, 42, a local mullah and government army soldier. "If the blockade of humanitarian aid continues, probably events will get out of our hands," he warned.

Police Commissioner Asim Fazlic, 38, saw no immediate danger of Bosnian Moslems becoming more radical. But he added: "If they (the West) continue their anti-Moslem policies I don't know what will happen."

The Moslems, representing two-fifths of the former Yugoslav republic's 4.4 million people before the war, are descendants of Slavs who converted to Islam over four centuries of Turkish rule. Virtually all feel firmly imbedded in European culture and shun any comparison with their Arab co-religionists. Fundamentalism is as foreign here as in Paris or New York. They drink and smoke. City women are invariably smartly dressed,

impeccably made up, strong-willed and often career-driven. Few Bosnian Moslems pray in mosques, many don't know how.

But that appears to have changed somewhat since the conflict erupted with the Serbs and Croats. Locals say attendance at prayers is up and more women are wearing the traditional Islamic chador.

"Before the war you noticed maybe 10 (women in chadors) a year but now you see a couple of hundred," said one lifetime resident of Zenica, who asked not to be named.

Islamic clergymen such as Babic believe this is a natural reflex to take refuge in religion in times of trouble. Other residents here say fear is the motivation. Some cynics say the new believers are simply trying to improve their chances of getting help from Arab-funded aid agencies, thought to be especially well-endowed here.

Also prominent on the local scene is the 7th Moslem Brigade, which has some radicals and is considered one of the best organised and most fearsome fighting units in the Bosnian Army.

Nobody knows for sure how many mujahidin are here—estimates range from 1,000 to a more likely 200. Zenica residents give them a wide berth for fear of offending their Islamic sensibilities.

The presence of such elements makes many people here uneasy, particularly Bosnian youth who fear an eventual crackdown on their free-wheeling western style of life. "In the Koran you are forbidden to have girl friends, to smoke grass, to drink alcohol. Damn, I grew up on those things," said one 21-year-old student.

"It would be one more in a bunch of reasons to leave this country. I cannot live by those rules," he said. But he refused to give his name, adding: "I have to live here, you know."

Srpska Officials Cited on Monetary Integration

AU1411205393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Vlado Trisic from Bjeljina]

[Text] Considering the increasingly gray economy, the malfunctioning of the economic system, irrational savings, and reduced productivity, representatives of the republic of Srpska's top leadership—President Dr. Radovan Karadzic, Vice President Nikola Koljevic, Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic, Serbian Krajina Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic, ministers of several departments, and businessmen—met in Bjeljina this evening to discuss the republic's economic problems.

Despite the loss of numerous economic links and markets, it has been concluded that approximately 90 percent of industrial capacities have, nevertheless, been currently preserved and that they must be exploited to the maximum. Despite this, certain problems are unavoidable, especially in the economic system, which is mostly affected by hyperinflation, which is increasing by the hour.

Bearing all this in mind, the president of the republic of Srpska, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, emphasized that joint integration in the FRY monetary system is scheduled to take place some time soon, as well as a general unification, which, as he said, can be expected much earlier than was originally planned:

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] It seems to me that everywhere in the world, there is an increasing conviction that the Serbs have the right to self-determination, and that this self-determination will definitely lead toward our unification. Regarding economic and monetary systems, there is no longer any reason to wait.

[Trisic] When can this be expected? Do you have a date?

[Karadzic] For the time being, we have a sort of payment schedule with Yugoslavia, which we will promote daily. Our priority task is to recover our economy and raise the production level, and then we will find a reason for monetary unity. I even believe that some [former] Yugoslav republics will also opt for a sort of customs union or perhaps even a monetary union [with the FRY].

[Trisic] Will this unification also include the Republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Karadzic] Definitely. Whatever we think and do for ourselves, we also think of the Serbian Krajina.

[Trisic] We are now talking to republic of Srpska Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic. Could you briefly tell us how you assess the current economic system in the republic of Srpska and what should be changed?

[Lukic] I think that we are in a rather complex situation, considering that we have been at war for more than two years. Because of this, we must concentrate on revitalizing the economy and improving the taxation system. These are definitely the two most important issues for us right now. However, we must do everything possible so the sanctions have the least possible effect on our economy. Their impact is truly great; however, thanks to the vitality of our economy and especially our businessmen, I am deeply convinced that we will successfully overcome this very soon.

[Trisic] Before this meeting, Dr. Karadzic said that integration in the FRY monetary system is expected soon. When would that be?

[Lukic] I hope this will be very soon. You have also heard the happy news. I believe that not only the republic of Srpska economy gain a lot, but the economies of the Serbian Krajina and the FRY as well, especially the Serbian economy. [end recording]

For the joint economy of the republic of Srpska, the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and the FRY to survive,

President Karadzic added, we must have more frequent contacts with the incumbent bodies in the FRY because only in this way will the cooperation gain in significance.

It was proposed at today's meeting in Bjeljina to ban the sale of domestic goods with prices expressed in German marks, as well as to secure a professional army cadre in order to pull certain people who could help the economy more from the army.

Boban Appoints New HVO Commander

LD1211154993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpt] The new commander of the main headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] was appointed today. There is no major fighting in Herceg-Bosna but it is not completely quiet. Zdenko Vranjes reporting from Mostar for Croatian radio.

[Vranjes] On the basis of an order by Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, Colonel General Ante Roso was appointed commander of the HVO's main headquarters. Brigadier General Slobodan Praljak, former commander of the main headquarters, was relieved of duties at his own request, it was announced today from the office of the president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. [passage omitted]

'Fierce Ustasha Offensive' Continues in Fojnica

AU1211212693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Report from the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 310th Hill Brigade from Fojnica]

[Text] This is the third day of the fierce ustasha offensive on the Fojnica front. Three brigades of the rampant fighters from Kiseljak, Fojnica, Vares, Kakanj, Travnik, and Sarajevo are attacking the entire defense line of the 310th Hill Brigade from three directions. Their aim is to capture Fojnica, sever the corridor that links northern Bosnia with Sarajevo and Konjic, open a corridor of their own toward Prozor and Herzegovina, and create conditions for further military operations toward Busovaca and Gornji Vakuf.

It is real hell on the defense lines. The ustashas are using mortars, antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and M-84 machine guns as preparation for infantry attacks, which they are launching in waves. On top of that, they receive constant support from the chetnik artillery and T-55 tanks. Their fighters are like robots, acting like they are drugged. They are suffering enormous losses, dozens of them, but they still fight on.

At the same time, the town is being mercilessly shelled. Over 500 shells have landed on Fojnica and the surrounding area. They are firing at hospitals, schools, and other civilian facilities, and there are casualties among the civilians.

In a superhuman effort, the fighters of the 310th Hill Brigade are trying to preserve the lines and halt the mad ustasha hordes. Our forces have had to pull back to reserve positions only in the village of (Plocari), but the rest of the lines are firm and stable. The situation in the zone of responsibility of the brigade is still hard, but our fighters are managing to hold on to their positions.

HVO Forces 'Overrun' Strongholds

LD1311153793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Text] In a fierce counterattack, formations of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] have overrun the strong Muslim strongholds of (Ploce) and (Basino Brdo), from which the Muslim army launched an offensive on Kiseljak three days ago. Zdenko Vranjes reporting for Croatian radio from Mostar.

It has been announced by the information office of the HVO's Ban Josip Jelacic brigade that HVO formations have also taken control of the villages of (Oglavak),(Trajkovic), Donji Plocari, and Gornji Plocari between Kiseljak and Fojnica. The same source reports that there is no heavy fighting in this area, but that there is fighting in (Gajevo) and Hadrovci near Kiseljak.

Three members of the HVO were killed and 20 wounded in yesterday and last night's fierce fighting on the Kiseljak-Fojnica battlefield. After the Muslim army offensive in this area was broken, Muslim forces, having suffered significant losses, are withdrawing toward Kakanj and Visoko.

Because of the large number of civilian casualties resulting from the Muslim forces' artillery attacks on the center of Kiseljak over the past few days, a general alert was sounded in Kiseljak at 1000 hours today. There is no news of serious fighting on other battlefields in Herceg-Bosna. [passage omitted]

Croat Offensive Halted

LD1411131593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] On the Fojnica battlefield, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces have halted the advance by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] fighters and are organizing defense activities and creating conditions for a counter-attack and the liberation of lost areas.

It is clear, says a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center, that the offensive on Fojnica was carefully prepared over a long period, as evidenced by the fact that the HVO is not giving up its objective of creating a so-called Croat community of Herceg-Bosna.

The infantry attacks by the aggressor were supported by strong artillery fire and, despite great losses, they succeeded in bringing up fresh forces and breaking through the lines of the army, which has withdrawn to reserve positions.

Two mosques, two Muslim tombs, and two tekkes [dervish monasteries] were burned down in the village of Plocari. The advance has now been halted and conditions are being created for a counterattack.

HVO Troops Capture Bakovici

LD1411165193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units have captured the village of Bakovici near Fojnica. Muslim forces captured the village in an offensive several months ago. According to the Josip Jelacic Brigade, the HVO is now in control of the approaches to Fojnica, after pushing the Muslim army from the Alaupovka area. Muslim artillery has resumed its attacks on the Kiseljak town center for the sixth successive day. [passage omitted]

Muslims 'Back in Control'

AU1511113893 Paris AFP in English 1104 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 15 (AFP)—The Moslem-led Bosnian government army was back in control of the central Bosnian town of Fojnica Monday after pulling out amid a Croatian offensive this weekend, a UN Protection Force spokesman said.

But the region remained tense, with Lieutenant Colonel Bill Aikman saying the front line between the Bosnian Croat (HVO) forces and the Bosnian army was just outside the town, which lies 45 kilometers (28 miles) west of Sarajevo. The town was abandoned by the Bosnian army Saturday, as residents also fled in the face of a Croat offensive.

But the spokesman said the HVO never actually took control over Fojnica and the Bosnian army troops went back into the town Sunday morning. He confirmed however that the nearby town of Bakovici was captured by the Croats Sunday morning.

Radio Sarajevo on Sunday had reported that the Croat HVO forces had taken the two Bosnian towns and that the Bosnian government army was preparing to counterattack. The radio had said the aim of the Croat offensive was to drive through Fojnica and nearby Kiseljak towards Prozor.

Two Franciscan friars were killed during the Croat attacks on Fojnica, Sarajevo radio reported Monday, quoting a statement from the Bosnian Interior Ministry. It named the two as Friar Nikola Milicevic, the abbot of Fojnica's Franciscan monastery, and the vicar, Mato Mikic, but did not say exactly when they were killed or give any other details.

Army Says Serbs Preparing To Seal Off Sarajevo

AU1211180093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center, the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor has for some time now been regrouping and bringing in new forces and equipment around Sarajevo for new offensive operations with the aim of completely sealing the city off.

Enemy offensives can be expected especially around Dobrinja, Butmir, Hrasnica, Stup, Zuc, and the free Vogosca territories. This expectation is confirmed by the fact that the aggressor has formed an operative group in Vogosca, which tells of the significance that is being attached to the parts of territory belonging to the wider region of Zuc.

In certain areas, the aggressor is grouping his artillery and tanks on the front. With constant fire he is trying to [word indistinct] our ranks, strip them of their equipment, and weaken them, and with constant regrouping he wants to conceal the real state of affairs when it comes to the arrangement of his equipment and manpower.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports that there is an increasing demand from individual HVO fighters in Vitez and Novi Travnik to join the ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Their dissatisfaction culminated when, due to the lack of food and basic goods, there was an increase in looting and abuse of their families by extreme members of the HVO. The situation is similar in Mostar. It is interesting to note that research by some international organizations has revealed that over 50 percent of the Croats in Mostar believe that the coexistence between the Bosnian Croats and the Bosniaks is possible.

Fikret Abdic has been very busy recently preparing his followers for open clashes with the units of the 5th Corps, says the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army Press Center. He has received the arms and ammunition by receipt from the Army of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina and since he lacks soldiers, he is trying to recruit our people working in Slovenia for his ideas. Abdic has employed Armin Pohara and Jasmin Jaganjac in his headquarters. Their task is to use their authority for psychological and propaganda purposes. The cooperation of the autonomy-seekers with the aggressor runs deep. They are even planning to hand over their positions if the members of the 5th Corps launch more offensive attacks at the autonomy-seekers' positions.

This is said in a statement by the Army Press Center.

Clashes Among Muslims Continue in Western Bosnia

LD1311182293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Petrovac, November 13 (TANJUG)—The inter-Muslim clashes in the newly proclaimed Muslim Autonomous Province of West Bosnia (APZB) continued on Saturday, according to the APZB news agency ZBIA.

Although they suffered defeats and heavy losses in the fighting at Johovica on Friday, forces loyal to fundamentalist Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic are trying with all they have to recapture the lost territories and make a breakthrough in the direction of Velika Kladusa, the centre of the APZB, according to the same source.

ZBIA said that members of Izetbegovic's 5th corps, which is under the command of Atif Dudakovic, were asking for reinforcements from Islamic countries.

The Muslim enclave of western Bosnia, whose autonomy was proclaimed by the local population in September, has been the stage of fierce inter-Muslim clashes since a month and a half ago, when Izetbegovic ordered his troops to "use all means" in suppressing the new autonomy.

The proclamation of the APZB was initiated by moderate Muslim politician and Izetbegovic's opponent Fikret Abdic, who has been elected APZB president. Abdic urges an end to the 19-month civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina through peace talks and a political accord with the local Serbs ad Croats. Abdic, acting as APZB president, recently signed peace declarations with the Bosnian Serbs and Croats.

5th Corps Fighters Advance Toward Todorovo

LD1311231893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] According to a report from the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the area of the villages of (Ljubjankici), (Ponjavici), and (Lidjak), 5th Corps fighters have successfully halted a fierce offensive by the separatists and in a counterattack have pushed deep into enemy territory towards the village of Todorovo.

The separatists suffered seven killed in these clashes, while 60 of their fighters were taken prisoner, including the commander of the 4th brigade. In these actions fighters of the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina succeeded in seizing a large quantity of light weapons.

The report also says that 60 chetniks arrived in Velika Kladusa yesterday. They brought to Fikret Abdic's separatists 100,000 bullets. Large groups of soldiers from the Republic of Croatia are also expected to arrive (?through a corridor) to Velika Kladusa; they are to help the separatists in their fight against members of the Fifth Corps.

However, despite the constant help in terms of personnel and armaments, which is constantly reaching the separatists from the so-called Serb autonomous province of Krajina and the Republic of Croatia, the well-organized forces of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina are in superior control of the situation in this area.

TANJUG Reports Muslim, Croat Attacks on Serbs

LD1311191693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1708 GMT 13 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, Pale, November 13 (TANJUG)—Moslem and Croat forces continued attacks on Bosnian Serb positions on a number of fronts in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the past 24 hours, TANJUG learned from Serb military sources in the Serb Republic on Saturday.

In the region of Posavina in northern Bosnia, united forces of the regular army of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnian Croat units continued to attack Serb villages for the fourth consecutive day. Mortar attacks from the region of Orasje were especially heavy. They resulted in much damage, especially on civilian objects.

At the Doboj and Maglaj front, also in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, combined Moslem artillery-infantry attacks continued, and Serb troops thwarted attempts by four Moslem subversive-terrorist groups to infiltrate the region.

In the wider region of Sarajevo, Moslem attacks from 120mm calibre mortars were stronger than on the previous days, and snipers were active in all Serb districts of Sarajevo.

At the front in eastern Bosnia, in addition to the continuing Moslem offensive, the regrouping and concentrating of new Moslem forces continued.

All these facts confirm information received by the Serb side that Moslems are planning a large-scale offensive whose ultimate objective will be to try and take the left bank of the Drina, Serb military sources said. This was also indicated by Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic during a visit to Tuzla two days ago, Serb military sources said.

At the Herzegovina front, Bosnian Croat units last night violated the cease-fire with fire from fire-arms and anti-aircraft weaponry, and there was no peace either in the region of Foca and Cajnice, where the Moslem Army attacked Bosnian Serb pouitions.

Bosnian Serb military sources said that Moslems were preparing new offensive actions against the upper and central parts of the region of Podrinje and indicated that there was a danger of incursions by subversive-terrorist groups.

Croat Artillery Hits Military Hospital in Mostar

AU1411160293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Mico Vujovic]

[Text] After a slightly peaceful morning, around noon the Mostar valley started to shake again with horrendous explosions. As could be expected following the destruction of the old stone bridge by tank shells from [word indistinct] Brdo, the united troops of the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian Army moved into a final showdown with the Muslim side on the right bank of the Neretva River.

Fierce street battles continue to be fought along the line Santic Street-Boulevard [word indistinct]-(Cekrk). However, the members of the Muslim formations are in a much more difficult position than they were prior to the bridge's destruction as they are completely cut off from their base on the left bank.

Intense Croatian artillery fire was pronounced today not only in Blagaj, Gnojnice, and Dracevice—settlements with predominantly Muslim civilians—but in the Zalik and Bijelo Polje regions as well.

The Muslim military hospital was hit with 205-mm shells last night. A great number of patients and hospital personnel have perished, although Muslim sources have not yet reported the exact number of casualties in last night's shelling.

This morning the Muslim side sent another desperate appeal for help in which it was stated that if they can resist the Croats, they will not be able to resist hunger and various infectious diseases, which, because of totally unhygienic conditions, have begun to take a greater toll than the Croatian artillery. The same source also reports that the Croats are bringing in fresh troops and military hardware day and night, which suggests that after the ethnic cleansing of the right bank, the left bank will not escape a similar fate either.

Maglaj Civilians Reportedly Targeted in Shelling

LD1411145293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Hajrudin Cernik]

[Text] Maglaj came under fierce shelling again today. Chetnik-ustasha forces and criminals caused a real massacre from the mountains. According to initial reports from the emergency health center, one woman has been killed and 10 people have been seriously injured. Mortars and 122-mm howitzers were fired from the direction of Ljubatovic and (Gajlovac) at (?regular) intervals at the very center of town, and they are landing while I am reporting. Civilian facilities and the innocent civilian population, whose tragic situation is deteriorating from one day to the next, are the exclusive targets of the artillery shells.

Serbs Neutralize Three Muslim Sabotage Groups

LD1411130593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Doboj, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Muslim units have been carrying out armed provocations and trying to infiltrate sabotage-terrorist groups behind Serb defense lines in the wider Doboj area, the command of the Doboj operational zone of the republic of Srpska Army disclosed today.

The Muslims tried to infiltrate three sabotage-terrorist groups on the Teslic front over the past 24 hours. Two were discovered and neutralized in time. One saboteur was killed. The third group, coming from the direction of Filipovici, was ambushed by the Serb defenders and eliminated. [passage omitted]

Tudjman, Russia's Churkin Hold Talks in Zagreb

LD1411112893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, has received Vitaliy Churkin, Russian President Yeltsin's special envoy and deputy foreign minister, at the presidential palace.

The talks under way are focusing on ways to resolve the problems in the areas under UN protection in Croatia and on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The talks are also attended by Mate Granic, the Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, the head of the president's office, Jure Radic, and economic adviser, Franjo Greguric. Vitaliy Churkin is accompanied by the Russian Ambassador to Croatia, Leonid Kerestedzhiyants.

Differ on Sanctions Issue

LD1411193493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, November 14 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin held talks in Zagreb on Sunday [14 November] in which they failed to reach agreement on the conditions for the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, agencies reported.

The United Nations (U.N.) imposed comprehensive sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in May 1992 because of its alleged involvement in the civil war of Moslems, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and conditioned their lifting with a peace agreement in that former Yugoslav republic.

Churkin, a special envoy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, said that the reaching of a peace accord in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be accompanied by the lifting of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, Yugoslavia's two federal units, the Croatian news agency HINA reported.

This would create conditions also for resolving the problems between the Krajina Serbs and the Zagreb authorities, Churkin said.

A conflict between Zagreb and the republic of Serb Krajina has been underway for three years now. Serbs proclaimed their own state in former Croatia in parts where they are the majority population, refusing to accept Croatia's forcible secession form the former Yugoslav federation and the curtailing of their national and civil rights.

Although the republic of Serb Krajina has been a U.N. protected area since March 1992, Croatia has on three occasions since that time attacked the territory of Krajina, whose independence it does not recognize and attempting to set up its power there using force.

Tudjman opposed Churkin's stands on the lifting of the sanctions, saying that Serbia should first recognize Croatia within the borders which include Krajina and give up helping Krajina Serbs.

Churkin assessed that the 'maintenance of the sanctions and the binding of their lifting with the question of U.N.-protected areas will only make the situation more difficult.'

The Russian envoy also said that Moscow supported Zagreb's request to the U.N. Security Council that towns in central Bosnia-Herzegovina with predominantly Croat populations, and which are surrounded by Moslem forces, be proclaimed 'U.N. protected zones.'

Churkin left Zagreb on Sunday afternoon, ending his four-day tour of the former Yugoslav republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia) and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Churkin Holds News Conference

LD1411162893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Following his talks with President Tudjman, Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special envoy for the region of former Yugoslavia, met Croatian reporters. Andjelko Perincic filed this report:

[Begin recording] [Perincic] After a two-hour-long meeting, during which it was mutually assessed that agreements on Bosnia-Herzegovina should be implemented—which would be conducive to the creation of a better climate for the implementation of the resolutions on the ending of the conflict in Croatia—Churkin declared:

[Churkin in English with superimposed Croatian translation] Among other issues, we discussed the UN Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia, and concluded that they should be linked to the process leading to a political settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. We also talked about the extremely difficult and tragic humanitarian situation in central Bosnia. We reached a high degree of unanimity in this respect. For instance, I proposed that a security zone be initially established in Kiseljak and some other Croatian enclaves in that area. This proposal is currently being reviewed by the UN Security Council and I believe it will be adopted. One of the reasons why Kiseljak would be suitable for the beginning of such an operation is because UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] command is based there. I should also add that the talks with President Tudjman were open, friendly, and useful.

[Perincic] Asked whether the Yugoslav sanctions issue should be linked with the resolution of the conflict in Croatia, Churkin replied:

[Churkin] Yes, we had discussed this at length and it is my feeling that President Tudjman has good reason to link these two problems, and that an agreement on

Bosnia-Herzegovina and the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia will facilitate the resolution of the conflict in the protected zones. I do not wish to go into details, but we believe that to link the sanctions to the problem of the protected zones in Croatia will only render the resolution of this problem more difficult; I discussed this with President Tudjman. Therefore, I believe that we should continue talks with both Croatia and the Security Council because only that can lead to an end to the conflicts. Too many people are suffering today and are expecting us to come up with a solution, for us to permit a logjam in the negotiations.

[Perincic] In reply to the question how he viewed President Tudjman's peace initiative, Churkin said:

[Churkin] This, of course, is a very comprehensive initiative by the Croatian president. I told him that other forces should also be actively involved in it—Germany, France, and Turkey. We believe that this is a positive and important move, and we welcome it because it can serve as a basis for efforts that could lead to an agreement on a settlement to the crisis, and it increases the chances for a successful outcome. Of course, this should be reviewed jointly. Apart from President Tudjman, I had also discussed this with Lord Owen. We are in constant touch with others, I will be discussing this in Rome and Athens, with the representatives of Germany, and I am expecting President Tudjman to send a special high-level envoy to Moscow to this effect.

All these efforts are aimed at reaching a political settlement and establishing peace in the region of former Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Bosnian, Croatian Delegations Meet in Zagreb

AU1111210693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Text] The delegations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly and the Republic of Croatia's Assembly held talks today in Zagreb. The delegations were headed by Miro Lazovic and Stipe Mesic. General relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were reviewed, that is, ways to halt the Muslim-Croat conflicts. It was stated that had it not come to conflicts between the Muslims and Croats, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be over.

Miro Lazovic expressed hope that there would be a reversal of Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, that interest in maintaining Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state would prevail in Zagreb. The chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly said that the possible partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina could also divide Croatia. Stipe Mesic completely agreed with this assessment, and said that Croatia was for an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, as the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation remarked, this is what Stipe Mesic said, but not other people in Croatia. Because, as Miro Lazovic remarked, he met with great understanding in today's talks with Mr. Mesic, but he had not met with such understanding on the part of Croatian President Tudjman at the Geneva conference this summer, and particularly not on the part of Mate Boban.

Mesic said another thing: I am not afraid of Muslim fundamentalism because our Muslims are not fundamentalists. The leader of the Croatian Liberals, Drazen Budisa, who also took part in the talks, reiterated his already well-known stances regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina, for which—he said—he had almost been proclaimed a national traitor in Croatia. Nevertheless, Budisa reiterated today that he had a list of all the mosques that had been destroyed in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina. He reiterated his stance, with which Stipe Mesic completely agreed, that the political leadership in Herzegovina cannot establish any kind of cooperation or agreement with the Muslims in Bosnia because it had compromised itself too much. This can only be done by Ivo Komsic and Stjepan Kljuic, as the representatives of the Croatian people in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

We were able to hear something in today's talks which is otherwise seldom heard in Zagreb. This was again said by Mesic and Budisa, but the other members of the Croatian delegation agreed. The world recognizes only the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ones in Sarajevo, the legitimately elected ones. It seems, however, that Croatia is slowly, partially, exhibiting goodwill for improving relations. The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation proposed that Croatia show goodwill toward improving relations by keeping its ambassador in Sarajevo permanently, rather than sitting in Grude or Siroki Brijeg. Today's talks between the parliamentary delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in Zagreb, will soon resume in Sarajevo. Stipe Mesic accepted Miro Lazovic's invitation to visit Sarajevo in the near future.

Groups Reach Agreement

LD1111194093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Parliamentary delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by Assembly President Stjepan Mesic and Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly President Miro Lazovic, held talks in Zagreb today. Branko Merlin reports.

[Merlin] The same multiparty delegations of the Croatian Assembly's foreign policy committee and the commission for international cooperation of Bosnia-Herzegovina recently held talks in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. An agreement—which had been discussed at the Council of Europe—was reached at today's meeting in Zagreb, convened because of the situation in Sarajevo. Specifically, it was agreed to send a delegation to Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Herceg-Bosna in order for parliament members to gain a better insight into what is going on in the field. Commenting on the talks that

participants described as completely frank and useful, Stjepan Mesic said, among other things, in a statement for the press:

[Begin Mesic recording] We explained many issues to each other, and we reached a full accord on certain points—namely, that Bosnia-Herzegovina should remain a state in which all three nations will be sovereign in their territory and in their corps and that the path to peace is via cooperation. We said that those who planned and those who carried out all crimes must be identified. After that, there can be both cooperation and communication. [end recording]

[Merlin] Stressing that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is aggravated by many open political issues, Miro Lazovic said among other things:

[Begin Lazovic recording] I think that a priority for all of us is to stop the clashes, especially in central Bosnia; to stop the expulsion of people from towns; to enable Muslims, Croats, and Serbs who live in that area to return; and to find joint political stands that will make possible the reaching of a just political solution. [end recording]

[Merlin] Savka Dapcevic-Kucar and Drazen Budisa also confirmed to the press their satisfaction with today's talks. Budisa believes that it is the Muslim side who now decides what will happen to Bosnia-Herzegovina tomorrow. In this context, the calling off of the Muslim offensive against Croats in central Bosnia and the release of commanders of the King Tvrtko Brigade arrested in Sarajevo, Budisa believes, will be a test and a sign of good will on the part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership.

Granic Outlines Agreements Reached at Talks

LD1311191093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] [Correspondent Tihomir Vinkovic] Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has returned from Sarajevo where he had talks with the most senior officials from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the representatives of Croats in Sarajevo.

On arrival at Zagreb airport Minister Granic set out the results of his visit.

[Begin Granic recording] The main aim of our meeting in Sarajevo was to suspend the hostilities between Muslims and Croats and establish peace. We thank Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin who was with us and was present at all the meetings, that is with Haris Silajdzic and his delegation, which included several members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency.

We had separate meetings with Croats from Sarajevo and also with the most senior representatives of the Catholic Church. We had talks about everything—about the current political, military and humanitarian situation. We spoke about all the peacekeeping initiatives, especially President Tudjman's peace initiative.

We also signed a joint declaration that contains several important elements: Both sides agree that a solution should be sought on the basis of the Geneva negotiations—the basic principles of the Geneva talks—on the basis of the declaration signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic and on the basis of the Vienna declaration.

We also appealed for the establishment of peace and the cessation of hostilities. We agreed that a meeting will be held between the most senior officials of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army within the next five to seven days—and likewise a meeting between political delegations will be held.

We agreed to send an appeal, both to the European Community and to the United Nations, and to the whole international community for the strict respect of humanitarian law and especially humanitarian convoys, and also that punishment be meted out to those who violate this law.

We also reached agreement on certain corridors that should be respected. We discussed prisoner exchanges and, at the same time, the organization as soon as possible of two convoys—for us this was particularly interesting—for the hospital in Bila. This was agreed. We had talks on the completion of the exchange of prisoners, i.e. those on the left bank of the Neretva, that this be done as soon as possible and that the exchange of prisoners be continued.

We hope that, in a very short time, these talks will be resumed, with the basic aim of finding a final solution on the basis of previous agreements. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] That was a statement by Dr. Mate Granic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, on his return from Sarajevo, where he held talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina's most senior officials.

Granic Interviewed on Talks

LD1411002693 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Studio interview with Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by correspondent Sasa Kopljar; from the "Picture vs Picture" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Kopljar] This was your first visit to wartorn Sarajevo. It must be a special feeling to have been there, apart from the official talks that you had. [passage omitted]

Let us turn to the talks that you had with the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The basic objective of the talks was to secure the dispatch of humanitarian aid, but primarily to stop the Croat-Muslim conflicts. Are

there any indications following the talks that these talks were decisive. We should not forget that meetings were also held before at top state level, declarations and joint statements were issued.

[Granic] Yes, this cannot be said yet. We are still to see after the second meeting, which will be held in seven to 10 days, most probably in Croatia, at the level of top military officers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and also at the level of political delegations. We had talks on basic Muslim-Croat relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and overall relations between Croats and Muslims. This means that we talked about ways to stop the war, ways to restore peace, and that was the essential objective of my visit.

Another objective was to have talks on the complex of humanitarian problems, i.e. POW's, the release of POW's; I paid particular attention to the POW's on the left bank of the Neretva river, the Croats, to the humanitarian convoys for all those in need of them, which is particularly interesting for us, for all Croat enclaves, for Vitez, for the Nova Bila hospital. But also for all those who are in need of them. In this connection we signed very firm agreements. We also called on the international community, including the United Nations and the European Community, to guarantee the implementation of this agreement and to sanction those who do not honor the agreement. We are expecting the talks to continue in the next five to seven days and then we will really see whether the principles we have agreed, i.e. the basic principles of the Geneva negotiations, the Tudjman-Izetbegovic declaration, the Tudjman-Izetbegovic Vienna statement, whether they will be honored.

This involves many things. If such an agreement is finally signed, this will mean the final solution to the status of the Croats in the Muslim republic and, in the same fashion, the status of the Muslims in the Croat republic.

[Kopljar] You also held talks with representatives of Sarajevo Croats and it seems that these talks were particularly interesting considering the latest arrests of [Sarajevo] HVO leaders.

[Granic] I was informed that there are still about 30,000 to 34,000 Croats remaining in Sarajevo. I held talks with the top representatives of the Catholic Church—Archbishop Puljic and Provincial Arandjelovic. I spoke with representatives of all Croatian cultural and humanitarian associations, representatives of political organizations and [Sarajevo] HVO officials. Of course, we spoke about the arrests of five HVO officials. Four of them have been released. One is still in prison, but three more HVO liaison officers have been imprisoned. I insisted that they should be released immediately. These talks were very significant and I tried to inform them about our talks with Silajdzic and the basic standpoints of our state policy. Of course I told them that we would care about the status of Croats in Sarajevo, i.e., the Bosnian Muslim Republic, or in any other place in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kopljar] Did you speak to the Croat members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency?

[Granic] I spoke with both Kljuic and Komsic. I had both separate and joint talks with them and with other members of the presidency. Izetbegovic was absent.

[Kopljar] What do you think about Kljuic's role regarding the resolution of Muslim-Croat tensions in Sarajevo?

[Granic] Well, he has definitely decided to stay in Sarajevo. I tried to present our standpoints to him and to explain the situation outside of Sarajevo, in the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on reports I had.

[Kopljar] You attached particular importance to Turkey's role. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin participated in the talks. Was his role active and did he attend the joint meetings?

[Granic] He came at our invitation and at the invitation of Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic, as a witness to our talks. This is very important for us because our policy is very clear. We wanted him to witness our offers given to Silajdzic. I also had a chance to speak to Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias, who was on his way to Tirana because he could not reach Sarajevo due to the adverse weather conditions. We met at Split airport and I informed him about the talks. Therefore, the peace process has been intensifying after some delays and I could say that President Tudjman's peace initiative is increasingly coming to the fore. It is clear that at least five to six months are needed to organize a global conference and that the humanitarian situation is catastrophic. At the same time, it is clear that, above all, a political solution is necessary, followed by a solution to the humanitarian problems.

[Kopljar] This is also the most difficult question. How far away are we from a political solution? Some indications suggest that a solution could be found even before a new peace conference is launched.

[Granic] Some indications are evident but we have to be cautious in our assessments. In any case we will do our best. We will meet representatives of the French Government and the UN secretary general. On Tuesday I will meet German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and next week I will also meet EC Chairman Willy Claes. We will have talks with Churkin in Zagreb tomorrow. In any case, Croatia is again the focus of diplomatic activities, primarily due to President Tudjman's peace initiative.

[Kopljar] Thank you, Mr. Granic.

Mutual Dissatisfaction Between UN, Serbs

LD1411174293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Knin, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Cedric Thornberry, director of UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] civil affairs, had talks in Knin today with representatives of the civilian and military authorities of the republic of Serb Krajina on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 871.

Immediately after he left the talks, saying that he had received a message to leave Knin urgently, Thornberry told journalists that the Security Council has become impatient because of the lack of progress in the implementation of the resolution.

He has informed both sides about it, he said, because the situation is very delicate.

Without going into details, Thornberry said that the UN secretary general must submit a report to the Security Council by 4 December regarding the implementation of Resolution 871, i.e. regarding the UNPROFOR mandate.

Asked to comment on new conditions given to Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia, regarding the lifting of sanctions by linking them to the situation in Krajina, Thornberry said that this did not refer directly to Serbia.

Krajina Vice Premier Branko Lubavac, the head of the Krajina delegation to the talks with Thornberry, told journalists that the delegation demanded a radical change in the UNPROFOR role, as its mandate has not produced the expected results. The blue helmets' physical presence is not sufficient, Lubovac said.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Slobodan Jarcevic, as a member of the delegation to the talks, pointed in his press statement to the fact that the Security Council has not given anything to the Serbian side, while the Croatian side has been given everything, even the right to annex Krajina.

Security Council resolutions cannot contravene the UN charter and many other international legal documents, as they deny the Serb people their right to self-determination, Jarcevic said.

According to him, there can be no improvement in relations if the Security Council does not assume a new stance, because no resolutions can render invalid the historic rights of the Serb people which are guaranteed in the UN documents.

We have told Thornberry what the situation is like: The Serbian people do not wish to live in Croatia, the Croatian people do not wish to live with the Serbs, but only wants to have Serbian territories; the proof of that is the ethnic cleansing which is being perpetrated, Jarcevic said.

Krajina Official, Vollebaek Discuss Peace Talks

LD1111192693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Knin, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Knut Vollebaek, deputy cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia, had talks in Knin today with Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] about the possibilities of continuing the Krajina-Croatia negotiating process which broke up in Oslo.

A statement by the RSK government distributed to journalists today does not present details of the course and the possible results of the talks. However, we have learned that the talks will be resumed in Knin tomorrow.

Journalists in Knin have concluded that Vollebaek is returning to Zagreb with a message from Knin.

In a statement the RSK government recalls its initiative that negotiations with the Croatian side ought to be intensified and stresses that both sides need peace. This, according to the statement, should be the priority in the talks, because the restoration of peace would open up a path to political, military, and economic negotiations.

Stressing the need that the practice of exhausting negotiations which yield no results should be discontinued, the government in Knin stresses that it is resolved in its will to find solutions, which, as the statement says, "at this moment depends mostly on the Croatian side."

UNPROFOR: Tension Mounting in Sector West

LD1211181993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokeswoman Shannon Boyd told a news conference in Belgrade on Friday [12 November] that the situation in Sector West in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which is a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA), threatened to escalate into open hostilities.

The spokeswoman of the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia said the positions of special Croatian forces were in an area covered with thick forest and with no civilian population. She said the Croatian units had heavy armament and weapons which were certainly not used by police forces.

The RSK is a Serb state created as a reply to Croatia's forcible secession from the Former Yugoslav Federation.

Boyd told the press that Serbs in Sector West had handed over their heavy armament to UNPROFOR to guard in its warehouses, and that the commanders of the Serb forces had said they had confidence in the protection provided by the U.N. troops.

The UNPROFOR spokeswoman said the ceasefire agreement was respected in Sector East, and meetings were held with commanders of the warring sides in

Sectors North and South with a view to reaching similar agreements. She said the setting up of buffer zones was being discussed.

Turning to the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Boyd said Bosnian Muslims and Croats were engaged in fierce fighting in central Bosnia. She said Muslim and Croat troops had prevented members of the Nordic UNPROFOR battalion from entering Stansko.

The spokeswoman said UNPROFOR was trying to establish who was responsible for the tragic artillery and mortar attacks on Sarajevo in the past several days, attacks in which quite a few people, including children, were killed. U.N. experts are investigating the craters left by the explosions in order to determine from which direction were the shells fired, according to Boyd.

When journalists observed that the commander of Croat units in Kiseljak had conceded that his forces had shelled Sarajevo, Boyd said she had heard about it but UNPROFOR had to conclude the investigation.

Croat-Serb Cease-Fire Signed in Karlovac

LD1411194493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] It has been announced in Karlovac that Croatian authorities have signed a cease-fire agreement in the zone of responsibility of the Karlovac operational area, which should come into effect at 1200 tomorrow.

[Reporter] Based on the peace initiative of Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman and on UN Security Council resolution 871, an absolute cease-fire will come into effect in the Karlovac theater of war at 1200 tomorrow, Brigadier Pavao Minjavac, commander of the Croatian Army's Karlovac operational area, told journalists today. The agreement side was reached today on the demarcation line in Turanj [Karlovac suburb]. It was also agreed to simultaneously open a check-point in Turanj to enable free passage for humanitarian convoys and humanitarian aid and mail for Croats in the occupied areas. A mixed commission was also set up consisting of representatives of the Croatian Army, the United Nations, and the opposing side. The commission will supervise the implementation of the cease-fire agreement. Hot lines will be set up with the opposing side. Heavy weapons should be withdrawn from the front again in accordance with one of the UN resolutions.

Defense Minister Assesses Washington Visit

LD1311021293 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by unidentified correspondent on 12 November; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Croatian Defense Minister, during his official visit to Washington this week, conveyed to American officials the peace initiative of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Susak has returned to Croatia and is tonight the guest on our program.

[Susak] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Mr. Susak, how was President Tudjman's initiative received in Washington?

[Susak] My visit to the Pentagon had been scheduled beforehand. The president's initiative was launched in the meantime and there was not enough time to examine it. After hearing what I had to say about it they greeted the idea saying that it was the first comprehensive package aimed at resolving the problems in former Yugoslavia. They said they would cooperate—as much as it is needed—bearing in mind what the United Nations and the EC [sentence unfinished as heard]

[Correspondent] When French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe and his German colleague Klaus Kinkel proposed their peace initiative only Washington, i.e. the U.S. and Canada, immediately opposed it. Everyone knows that officially Washington opposes the abolition of sanctions against Belgrade, even a gradual abolition. What were you able to find out of this?

[Susak] The purpose of my mission, i.e. my visit to the State Department and the Pentagon, was to find out about the U.S. stand on the initiative put forward by France and Germany. I was given assurances and a message [as heard] for Tudjman by the Americans that regardless of any initiative taking into account the abolition of sanctions against Serbia before the issue of [Serb] Krajina in Croatia is resolved, America would not agree to it, on condition that it must confirm (?the conditions) [as heard].

[Correspondent] In your capacity as Croatian defense minister, you, spent a significant part of your visit with your American counterparts. How did those talks go?

[Susak] I am rather satisfied. We discussed possible cooperation. I was particularly interested in education [programs] for Croatian Army [officers], either with their experts coming here to Croatia, or with our people going there. I think I got a satisfactory reply on that.

The other thing [we discussed] was the possibility of NATO coming here [as heard] and NATO ships being repaired in Croatian shipyards. I got a positive reply to that, of which I am pleased. As early as next week we shall hear about the concrete results of those issues. [The shipyard of] Kraljevica has said that they would be able to repair the [NATO] ships.

Moreover, I offered [the use of] Croatian airports, if NATO gets involved in peacekeeping or any other operations. We agreed that Zemunik [military airport near Zadar] was the airport that would suit them, if a decision is made that NATO is to be involved in any way.

[Correspondent] I assume that my American colleagues, who you also met, were interested in the possibility of renewed confrontations with the so-called [Serb] Krajina.

[Susak] The message the official American policy wants to convey to Croatia is that it [Croatia] must not allow itself to be dragged again into a war. They are appealing for patience. Things were set out rather clearly: if we go for a military option and that causes an all-out war again with Serbia and with those from Bosnia-Herzegovina [as heard] in that case England, France, and Russia would demand that sanctions be introduced against Croatia. They said that in that case the Americans would have no political basis to prevent it.

But, I repeat, they said that if we agreed to a peaceful option, they would put pressure....[pauses] they simply could not believe it when I mentioned the pipeline and the opening of the highway, and that nothing has been done about it—they said that they would put pressure [as heard] and that they would, if needed, use their veto [in the UN Security Council] to prevent lifting of sanctions against Serbia before the problem of Croatia is resolved. That was rather clear.

[Correspondent] Unfortunately, it was perhaps inevitable that one should touch upon the subject of the conflict between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Susak] I would like to say... we often tell (?the media) that the position and role of Croatia abroad is bad and that Croatia suffers from a bad image. True, if you keep up with the media [as heard] I have met a large number of Congressmen and Senators—I attended public forums at which seven or eight Congressmen or Senators were present—their views depend on the information each of them had received. The official position of the U.S. Government on Croatia is that we can consider them as a friendly country; that they would do everything in their power—they are aware of what we have done for refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; they do not accept the allegations that our orientation is anti-Muslim;, they beg us to do what we can to bring this conflict to an end, which is also in our interest and which is the stand we are advocating... [sentence unfinished as heard] To this end they even selected a group of Congressmen and Senators who are expected to come to Croatia by the end of next week. They will invite Izetbegovic, Silajdzic and Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina to talk and come to an agreement and will then go down there [to Bosnia-Herzegovina].

As for the official position I did not get the impression—and what I said was perfectly clear to them—they are aware of the fact that we held free elections three times while advocating the same program, that our policy is consistent, that they cannot expect from us a type of democracy found in America although this is our goal and we are doing all we can to achieve it [sentence as heard].

[Correspondent] So you are certain that your visit had above all positive results?

[Susak] I attended four public forums, what they call opinion makers, where public opinion is formed and which create American (?policy). These groups include the Balkan Task Force; the Carnegie Endowment [for International Peace], the Helsinki Watch; and the Commission of the Senate and the Congress. About 40 eminent persons, mainly Senators, Generals, representatives of all media [words indistinct] were there. Various TV and newspaper houses reported on these forums. You should perhaps turn to those who were present; [Croatian] Ambassador [Dr. Petar] Sarcevic was with me all the time and he would be better placed to comment on the way I presented Croatia's stand and how [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Thank you for being a guest of the Croatian TV news bulletin.

[Susak] Thank you.

Tudjman Pardons Serbs Sentenced for 'Rebellion'

LD1211162993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] On the basis of an amnesty decision of 11 November this year, and at the proposal of the commission for amnesty, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has pardoned a number of people, citizens of the Republic of Croatia of Serbian nationality. They were sentenced for the criminal act of preparing armed rebellion against the Republic of Croatia, but their hands were not stained with blood.

The president of the Republic of Croatia thereby accepted the amnesty appeals which those people, exchanged earlier on, sent to the president of the Republic of Croatia from Belgrade, pledging loyalty to the Republic of Croatia in which they want to live with their families, and which they consider their homeland.

Havel, Kucan Hold Talks in Ljubljana

LD1011172493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel and Slovenian President Milan Kucan held talks in Ljubljana today.

They expressed unanimous views on prerequisites for European integration, as well as the hope that a tripartite agreement on setting up a free trade zone between the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia would be signed at the beginning of December. The two presidents described the establishing of peace in the Balkans and starting of a stabilization process in the region as important.

President Havel stressed that it was necessary to support the democratization process in Russia led by President Yeltsin.

Joint Declaration Issued

AU1211111293 Prague CTK in English 2007 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 11 (CTK)—The joint declaration on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina made today by Czech President Vaclav Havel and his Slovenian counterpart Milan Kucan was the most important result of Havel's two-day state visit to Slovenia, the two presidents said at a press conference at the conclusion of the visit.

Havel said that he and Kucan did not intend to collect signatures on their declaration, but that they would welcome it if other central European heads of state would express themselves in the same spirit.

The two presidents praised the course of the visit, emphasized the openness of their talks and the harmony of views which dominated them.

Havel and Kucan agreed that Havel's visit had aided in the successful development of cooperation and friendship between their two countries.

After the conclusion of the press conference, Havel departed for the Czech Republic.

Further on News Conference

AU1211121393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel concluded official and friendly visit to our country this afternoon. He spoke to the deputies of the State Chamber in Ljubljana this afternoon. After that, for his merits in furthering relations between the Czech Republic and Slovenia and the help when our country was achieving independence, President Kucan decorated President Havel with the Golden Honorary Badge of Freedom.

At the end of the visit, the two presidents held a joint news conference. Here is a report by Tomaz Gerden:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] Presidents Havel and Kucan adopted a joint statement about the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They appealed to all warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to respect human life, as well as to their military and political representatives to ensure safe passage to humanitarian aid. They appealed to politicians of the entire world, and particularly of Europe not to keep silent about the violation of human, civilizational, and social values in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Havel and Kucan called on new defined principles to be used in the approach to peace negotiations. All drafts so far have accepted the principle of an ethnically clean state that is contrary to the idea of European union and the basic CSCE principles. The two presidents pointed out that human dignity is [word indistinct] and if Europe loses state principles in conformity with solutions on the coexistence of people and nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will lose its own being.

Czech President Havel assessed his two-day visit as follows:

The Czech president is very pleased with his visit to Slovenia. He called President Kucan his friend and praised the very extensive program of the visit that enabled him to meet with all most important Slovene politicians and intellectuals. The two countries have a lot of identical stands and many connections, something which points to harmonious relations. President Vaclav Havel expressed gratitude for the (?reception) and the decoration he received.

President Kucan did not add much to these assessments as he agreed with his prominent guest.

[Kucan] One should point out what extraordinary importance the visit by Czech President Havel to our country has, because of his ideas about the implementation of ethical principles and policy about which he very expressively spoke in his recent speech in Vienna and the Council of Europe. One should also point out what great importance this visit has for Slovenia regarding the great economic and spiritual significance the Czech Republic has in central Europe and in Europe in general. The talks were very open and thorough and have shown great accord between the two countries.

[Gerden] President Havel left Slovenia an hour ago. The talks at highest level with the Czech Republic as well as with Slovakia will resume as early as in December when an agreement on trade cooperation will be signed. [end recording]

Drnovsek Meets With Havel

AU1011211093 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Ljubljana Nov 10 (CTK)—At their lunch together today, Czech President Vaclav Havel and Slovenian Premier Janez Drnovsek clarified their relations towards the European Community (EC) and NATO.

Havel arrived in Slovenia this morning for a two-day official visit on an invitation from Slovenian President Milan Kucan.

After dinner, Havel's spokesman Ladislav Spacek told journalists that Havel assured Drnovsek of the Czech interest in joining NATO, and that Drnovsek said the majority of Slovenians wanted Slovenia to move closer to NATO.

Spacek said that today's meeting of experts considered a bilateral draft agreement on a free trade zone which Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus is expected to sign here for the Czech side at the beginning of December.

The Czech delegation and Drnovsek discussed economic issues of common interest to both countries, such as privatisation and tax policy.

Later in the day, Havel took a stroll around Ljubljana, and met with Ljubljana Mayor Joze Strgar, Archbishop Sustar, and members of the Writers' Association and Pen Club.

This evening he is to attend a ceremonial dinner held in his honour by Kucan.

Peterle, Papoulias Hold News Conference on Talks

AU1211142093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias was our guest today. He had talks with President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, and signed agreement on cultural cooperation with Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle. This evening, the two foreign ministers held a news conference assessing the results of the talks. Here is a report by Drago Flis:

[Begin Flis recording] According to Mr. Peterle, the two countries plan to increase the dynamics of their mutual relations and today signed agreements on protection of investments, on double taxation, and road and air traffic. The two ministers also announced the establishment of residential embassies, that is, embassies in the two capital cities, by the end of the year. However, they did not disclose the ambassadors' names.

It is important that Greece, as Peterle said, sees that Slovenia is on the way to the European Community, because Greece will take over the 6-month EC chairmanship as of January. Slovenia is going to hold talks on associate membership next (?autumn).

The specific task of the foreign policy that Lojze Peterle is taking very seriously is the promotion of economic links. Namely, Papandreou's government is planning a number of major development projects in which some Slovene enterprises can take part to mutual benefit.

The Greek initiative of—as Karolos Papoulias put it at the news conference—the pacification of the Balkans, particularly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had an important place in the talks. He also spoke about the joint struggle for peace initiatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina where Papoulias would travel as soon as possible. Minister Peterle has welcomed these efforts.

The two ministers have diplomatically avoided the issue of the Greek initiative on the new Balkan conference in which Slovenia does not have a particularly warm interest. The Slovene foreign minister [words indistinct] conference that would deal with this issue.

In reply to our specific question of whether Greece will abolish visas, Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias said that the procedure of abolishment will be concluded in a few weeks. We hope that we can trust the minister's words, as the experience so far commands a certain skepticism.

Apart from Slovene journalists, participating in the news conference were 37 Greek colleagues who had arrived with the minister. The conference [words indistinct] ended, so there was no time to ask about Macedonia, about which the new Greek Government has a [word indistinct] stand than the previous one.

The course of international relations makes Slovenia intercede on behalf of Macedonia in a way, at east to the extent that it is in conformity with the Slovene national interests. Namely, Slovene national interest is to further all relations with Greece, the future chairman of the European Community. Therefore, the Greek attitude toward Macedonia could not be the central topic of the Slovene-Greek talks. Due to the lack of time, this topic did not appear at the news conference. Due to a certain consideration toward the Greek guest [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

Drnovsek Presents Budget Memorandum in Parliament

AU0911184293 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Report on a speech to parliament by Slovene Prime Minister Janoz Drnovsek in Ljubljana by Suzana Kos; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kos] First some positive results of the government efforts this year. According to Prime Minister Janoz Drnovsek, for the first time in five years the GDP in 1993 will not be lower than in the previous year. Positive trends, among other things, manifest themselves in the service industry, the situation in agriculture is improving, while the foreign currency reserves are growing. The trend of decline in productivity parallel to the reduction in employment has been halted. The annual inflation rate was the lowest in the last 11 years and will amount to approximately 24 percent anually. Inflation is supposed to be even lower in the coming year—approximately 13 percent.

[Drnovsek] The economic development goals for 1994, which we have set for ourselves in the budget memorandum for 1994, might seem optimistic to some and not ambitious enough to others. We believe that they can be accomplished through consistent implementation of directives and policies. However, we are aware that such a combination of goals is probably the most ambitious so far.

[Kos] After many years, the government anticipates economic growth for the first time this year, Dr. Drnovsek said:

[Drnovsek] Although there appear to be several alternative approaches and quick solutions are being offered from various sides, the government with the memorandum proposes perhaps [words indistinct] but only this is possible in our opinion. In brief, we could describe it as a memorandum of the (?national) economic [word indistinct].

[Kos] The government will strive to improve the position of the people with substandard incomes and create greater possibilities for the rise in employment. In the coming year the cost of the financial rehabilitation of banks and the economy, as well as the employment policy, will be joined by the expenses for the project of construction of [words indistinct] and the project of (?amalgamation), as well as repayment of the debt resulting from the succession from former Yugoslavia.

[Drnovsek] The wider scope of development goals increases tensions relating to the distribution of the budget cake.

[Kos] The prime minister also announced further transformations of the system of social rights and social policy. Primarily, as he said, adjustments will be needed in the sphere of pensions and disability insurance. Regarding previous debates concerning the funds for defense, Dr. Drnovsek said that they have become too politicized. However:

[Drnovsek] As the Slovene Prime Minister I believe that it would be irresponsible if Slovenia would not have allocated certain funds for defense.

[Kos] Drnovsek among other things also spoke of the policy of salaries and emphasized that the government will resort to administrative regulation of salaries only in emergency situations.

Janez Kopac in the name of the state chamber commission in charge of these issues concluded that the previous debate proves that many people have not yet understood what is the public expenditure included in this year's memorandum.

Democrat Igor Bavcar was of the opinion that the government lacks its own policy and economic program and also questioned whether the investments in defense are truly a priority task.

Janez Kocjancic from the United List was opposed to an increase in defense funds. This government coalition party is also disappointed because it did not gain funds for the active employment policy.

Marjan Podobnik from the Peoples' Party stated that the memorandum represents the continuation of the present bad economic policy.

Zmago Jelincic, [Slovene National Party] expressed doubt about the correct usage of the statistical data.

Christian Democrat Izidor Rejc stressed that the state is too expensive and that the cabinet of Lojze Peterle accomplished more in this respect.

Peter Tancig from the Greens-Ecologically Social Party said that they will support the memorandum on the condition that the defense funds remain at this year's level.

Joze Pucnik in the name of the Social Democratic Party said that no major changes are possible in the current circumstances and, thus, the party will support the memorandum.

After the representatives of the clubs of deputies stated their opinions, the debate started and is expected to resume after the recess at 1600.

Federal

Kontic Calls For Prisoner Exchange With Croatia

LD1311150293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1404 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, November 13 (TANJUG)—Head of the diplomatic mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the United Nations headquarters in Geneva, Ambassador Vladimir Pavicevic on Saturday [13 November] handed a letter by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic to head of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Sommaruga in which he informed the ICRC that the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia is refusing to exchange prisoners with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kontic asked Sommaruga to exert influence on Croatia to fulfill its obligations envisaged by the Geneva Convention and the agreement on the release of prisoners of war signed in Budapest on August 7 last year.

Croatia has been persistently refusing to give Yugoslavia information about the fate of 50 soldiers of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) who were taken prisoners in Croatia's war of secession in 1991 and 1992.

Kontic pointed out the government's fear that the fate of the group was similar to that of 220 other JNA soldiers who had died in Croatian camps or prisons.

The Croatian authorities also refuse to offer information about the fate of around 1,000 members of the JNA and the Serb Krajina's territorial defence who took part in the armed conflict in Croatia and who were missing, taken prisoners, fled the region or crossed to the Croatian side.

Pointing out that Croatia has even refused to make a list of its prisoners, Kontic added that such a situation was further aggravated by the fact that Zagreb was keeping those persons out of reach of the ICRC, in which way they were practically denied any form of protection.

Yugoslavia has on its territory a group of 11 Croatian terrorists to which the ICRC has given the prisoner-of-war status despite Yugoslavia's opposition and evidence proving that they are terrorists, said the Yugoslav prime minister.

Croatia is unjustifiably charging Yugoslavia of keeping a large number of prisoners of war as well as 1,300 of its missing citizens in spite of the fact that 300 of the 649 cases included on the list of missing persons, made by Croatia itself, have already been resolved.

By accusing Yugoslavia, Croatia is in fact trying to hide its own campaign of ethnic cleansing, in which about 250,000 Serbs have so far been expelled from the Croatian territory according to reports by the U.N. secretary-general, or about 300,000 according to information available in Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, Croatia refuses to implement an agreement on the exchange of information about persons responsible for war crimes and to put them on trial.

Instead, Croatia has promoted some of its war criminals to the ranks of senior officers or prominent officials in the Croatian government, the Yugoslav prime minister said in the letter to Sommaruga.

Jovanovic Due To Meet Libyan Officials

AU1511092393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, who arrived in Libya for an official visit, will hold talks with Libyan officials in Tripoli today. He will discuss bilateral relations, future cooperation, and the international position of Libya and Yugoslavia.

TANJUG: Libya Sanctions Prove UN 'Hypocrisy'

LD1211133293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 12 Nov 93

[By Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council and its Resolution 883 which tightens the sanctions against Libya has demonstrated double standards and once again shown it is not immune to blackmail by its powerful members, is heard on Friday [12 November] in Yugoslav government sources in Belgrade.

The United States, France and Great Britain have insisted that the sanctions be tightened because Libya because it refused to extradite two of its citizens charged with planting a bomb in the U.S. Pan American plane which blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988 when 258 people were killed.

Noone voted against the resolution, while China, Pakistan, Morocco and Djibuti abstained. China once again implemented its well-known principle that sanctions cannot give the wanted effects and that they are only punishing innocent people. The abstention of the three Moslem countries is also understandable as they have in this way practically morally supported Libya.

However, it is also difficult to understand these same countries which persistently and without any argument daily demand from the Security Council to tighten the sanctions against Yugoslavia. The only possible explanation for their behavior could be that Yugoslavia is not a Moslem country.

The United States is the most enthusiastic for introducing additional punishment against Yugoslavia. However, this enthusiasm has become a classical form of blackmail.

It is well-known that Russia, owed four billion dollars by Libya, did not favour the announced tightening of the sanctions and even mentioned it could veto the decision.

This caused the United States to restore to blackmail—Russia would vote for the resolution, and in return Washington will not make any problems over the export of Russian gas to Yugoslavia—while the Security Council directly linked the new sanctions against Libya to humanitarian aid for Yugoslavia.

Such a deal is nothing more than hypocrisy. The Americans are blackmailing the Russians with something which is not included in the sanctions, but comes exclusively under the heading of humanitarian aid, well-informed sources in the United Nations and the Security Council said.

In this way the powerful members of the United Nations are also violating two key Security Council resolutions on sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which they see even what absolutely does not exist, so that, according to their interpretation, relief aid has also been placed under a strict embargo.

This was done at the precise moment when everyone in the world is admitting that the sanctions are destroying the innocent population of Yugoslavia and that they can have disastrous effects in view of the coming winter.

Security Council Resolution 883 indirectly proves that the sanctions against Yugoslavia were introduced solely out of political reasons. In such a situation, the crucial question is where the United Nations are headed.

Economists Doubt Efficacy of Devaluation

LD1111220093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—The devaluation of the Yugoslav currency, the dinar, and other measures taken by the Yugoslav Government on Tuesday [11 November] will have no more than short-term effect on the monetary chaos plagueing the country, Yugoslav economists opine.

After 18 months of air-tight isolation from the world markets, the new Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) has the world's record inflation rate of 0.5 percent every hour. Before the government announced its measures, the convertible currencies were rising by the hour against the dinar, and tripled their value from morning till night on Monday.

The new measures have put an end to the practice of trading in foreign currencies for dinars paid into the seller's account rather than for cash, this practice guaranteeing a rate often three times higher than the black market rate. The practice was rampant in private banks and some state-owned exchange offices.

"The most important measures regulate this special exchange rate, which is a good thing, because the practice has largely contributed to the destabilisation of the money market in the past fortnight," said Radovan Kovacevic of the Belgrade Foreign Trade Institute.

On the other hand, the measures are not likely to produce the desired results, because the true cause of the upset money market is a short supply of foreign currencies, he added.

"No kind of active foreign exchange policy is possible for as long as monetary transactions with the world are at a standstill. For this reason, the National Bank of Yugoslavia (central bank) and the government have opted for the method of economic coercion, regulating that in future no bank will be authorized to exchange foreign currency at a rate above that defined in inter-bank consultations," said Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Bozidar Gazivoda.

Economic sanctions have blocked both export and import and all financial transactions with the world, and have frozen Yugoslavia's assets abroad. Economists agree that no efficacious measures can be taken for as long as the economic sanctions remain in place.

CSCE Accused of Violating Diplomatic Convention

LD1211220893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 12 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, November 12 (TANJUG)—The representatives of the Italian, Swedish and Slovak embassies in Belgrade, who have, at the the initiative of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), assumed the role of the CSCE mission in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as the 'Belgrade Three,' have grossly violated the Vienna Convention which regulates the behaviour and activities of diplomatic representations.

What the 'Belgrade Three' have done is to visit the provinces of Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina and the region of Raska [Sandzak] in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the very areas where the CSCE mission whose term has expired had acted.

The 'Belgrade Three' paid the visits in the capacity of the CSCE mission but signed the reports on the visits as representatives of the Italian, Swedish and Slovak embassies in Belgrade and not as the CSCE mission, clearly demonstrating that they were not acting in line with existing conventions, it is set out in Belgrade.

The case of the 'Belgrade Three' is an illustration of the one-way relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the CSCE since the CSCE took the decision to freeze Yugoslavia's participation.

The CSCE mission's mandate which expired on July 1 this year could have been extended only by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which, however, chose not to do so precisely because of the one-sided relations.

It has been learned that, after the mandate of the CSCE mission expired, the Swedish Embassy in Belgrade organized a meeting with representatives of the diplomatic missions of the CSCE participating states, at which it was decided that the 'Belgrade Three' assume the role of the CSCE mission.

It is set out in Belgrade diplomatic circles that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has absolutely nothing against regular activities of diplomatic missions, including the touring of individual regions. Official Belgrade had earlier said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did not question the CSCE mission's activities provided they unfolded on an equal footing, that is, provided both sides had their rights and duties.

It was obviously not so in the case of the 'Belgrade Three,' a case which shows that CSCE members feel that Yugoslavia, although the signatory of the founding Helsinki Act and the Paris Charter, has no rights but only duties.

Papandreou Supports Lifting Sanctions on Belgrade

LD1111205293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Cairo, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou says that the basic commitment of the new Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) is to peace and that Serbia's current attitude fully justifies the lifting of sanctions.

The sanctions were clamped by the U.N. Security Council in May of 1992 for Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In an interview for the English-language SAUDI GAZETTE, Papandreou firmly refuted the insinuations of Albanian President Sali Berisha that Belgrade is planning a 'southern expedition' and an 'ethnic cleansing' of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija of its ethnic Albanian population in order to create a 'greater Serbia.'

A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active in Kosovo-Metohija for decades, and has intensified its activity in the past twenty years, striving for the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania.

Papandreou explained that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Belgrade leadership could not be accused of hatching war plans, and added he was concerned that a conflict might be provoked rather by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija, or even some of the big powers.

Asked if he felt this might be Germany, Papandreou said that Bonn had directly caused the disintegration of former Yugoslavia by insisting on the premature recognition of breakaway Croatia and Slovenia.

He further said it was very important that Europe and the United States warn Berisha to steer clear of war. Berisha must be made to realise that he would receive no help from any of the big powers if he entered into conflict with Serbia, said Papandreou.

Journalist Accuses Seselj's Militia of War Crimes

AU1211210293 Paris AFP in English 2042 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (AFP)—A war correspondent working for a former Yugoslav army weekly claims to have witnessed war crimes committed by all parties in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding that he was prepared to testify to that effect before an international tribunal.

Marko Jovicevic told the BORBA newspaper here that he saw massacres, rape and pillage during his coverage of the war for the VOJSKA army newspaper. Some of these crimes he blamed on militias controlled by the head of the Yugoslav Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, a former supporter of Serbia President Slobodan Milosovic, who is now running against him in the December elections.

He saw soldiers playing football with severed heads and accused some of Seselj's militiamen of carrying pincers to extract the gold teeth of both the dead and of prisoners. Seselj, for his part, said that at time his militias were under the command of the Yugoslav Army.

Kostunica Praises French-German Initiative

LD1011232493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2048 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—Serbian opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica on Wednesday praised a French-German plan for war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina but said that no progress was possible until Bosnian Moslems abandoned their immoderate demands.

The European Union on Tuesday agreed to study the proposal at its special session on November 22. The proposal calls for a gradual lifting of U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, if Bosnian Serbs cede three percent more territory to the Moslems in addition to the concessions already made.

Holding out for more territory, the Moslems have rejected an internationally drawn peace plan for transforming Bosnia into a union of three ethnic republics, although the Serbs and the Croats offered to make territorial concessions.

Kostunica, the leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, told reporters that every initiative for resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia was positive if it started from the position that sanctions against Yugoslavia should be lifted.

He said the French-German plan was all the more significant coming as it did from those who had been

stubbornly insisting on the sanctions and calling for an exemption of Bosnian Moslems from a U.N. arms embargo for ex-Yugoslavia.

Serbia

Draskovic Holds Campaign Rally in Krusevo

AU1411210993 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Dragan Ilic from Krusevac]

[Text] Today's electoral meeting of Depos [Democratic Opposition of Serbia] in Krusevac began in front of several thousands of Krusevo residents with the anthem Lord of Justice. After the introduction of the electoral candidates—Miljko Dumanovic, priest Petar Jerakovic, and Vojislav Mihajlovic, who is Draza Mihajlovic's grandson—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] and Depos, addressed the meeting.

He called upon all those gathered to vote for Depos, and if victorious, he pledged:

[Begin Draskovic recording] The sanctions will be lifted immediately. I can tell you that the highest doors in Moscow, Paris, London, Athens, Washington, and everywhere are wide open to me personally. Businessmen from all over the world will invest enormous capital. [end recording]

In case of victory, Vuk Draskovic also announced the curbing of inflation, the arrival of international capital, the payment of money deposited with the Jugoskandik and Dafiment Banks, and the modernization of villages. The Depos leader also pointed out:

[Begin Draskovic recording] As I have already said, the Western countries have promised us enormous help. Depos represents hope to the democratic world. [end recording]

TANJUG Reports Seselj Popularity Waning

LD1011220993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, November 10 (TANJUG)—The biggest opposition party in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), is suffering reverse effects of its fierce campaign launched recently against the republican government and of the dissolving of the Serbian parliament. Its internal disputes also seem to be adding up to the difficulty of the situation, which will make the party's recovery hard.

The party of Vojislav Seselj is quickly losing popularity and its leadership seems to be disoriented after the criticism by the ruling Socialist Party, police actions against armed SRS members and internal conflicts.

Seselj's story resembles a comet flashing brilliantly for a second and then disappearing in the dark from which it emerged, the daily POLITIKA writes on Wednesday [10 November].

He had appeared on the political scene together with his friend Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, Serbia's second strongest opposition party. However, the two men broke off after Seselj supported the socialists and the authorities.

Fervently and relentlessly, he then frequently struck against his former friends in the opposition ranks. Today, however, he stands alone against all of them.

All public opinion polls show that Seselj and his radicals have drastically gone down on the list of popularity and that he would have every reason to celebrate if his party got half of the seats won in the 1992 parliamentary elections, i.e. about 30.

The popularity of the 'red duke' and 'fascist,' as Seselj has been frequently referred to by other opposition leaders, started to wane after the ruling Socialist Party launched a campaign following the dissolving of the republican parliament.

Police actions, launched to discover crimes committed by members of the Serbian chetnik movement (a part of the SRS), came as an additional blow to Seselj.

A whole arsenal of arms, ammunition and bombs discovered in chetnik homes was recently shown in a television programme.

Ousted party Vice-President Ljubisa Petkovic, who is seen as the party's eminence grise, said that by removing him Seselj had sawn off the branch he was sitting on.

It is not a secret that Petkovic, who is also vice-president of the Serbian parliament, is far more popular than Seselj in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), primarily for his war merits.

Judging by the signals coming from the RSK, the SRS membership will side with Petkovic if put in the position to chose.

The situation in Serbia is similar—some SRS committees in the region of Srem have already sided with Petkovic and refused to obey Seselj.

The paper concludes that further developments are not difficult to predict. By the end of the election campaign all Seselj's opponents will most probably come out with more awkward details, which will further reduce the party's election prospects and increase those of other parties, most notably of the Socialists, who can now count on Seselj's disappointed sympathizers.

Survey Shows Large Number of Voters Undecided

AU1011171893 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by S.G.: "Many Undecided"]

[Text] According to a telephone survey by the "Partner" agency there is a very high percentage of undecided voters [regarding the upcoming December elections]. The highest number of undecided voters is in the constituency of Kragujevac—as many as 58.5 percent (16.9 percent would vote for the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], 9.7 percent for the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], while 6.3 percent would vote for the Radicals [SRS]). The Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] would receive 9.7 percent of the votes of those surveyed in Kragujevac and the Democratic Party [DS] would receive 3.2 percent.

According to this survey, 47.3 percent of voters in the Belgrade constituency are undecided. If elections had been held at the time the survey was carried out (24 to 26 October), 11 percent would have given their vote to the SPS, 10.7 percent would have voted for the DS, 7.5 percent would have voted for the Radicals, and just as many would have voted for the SPO, while Kostunica's Democrats would have received 7.4 percent of votes. The other parties would have received 8.6 percent.

In the Zrenjanin constituency, 44.8 percent of voters are undecided. The votes would be shared among the parties thus: 24.1 percent for the SPS, 12 percent for the DSS, 9.5 percent for the SRS, and 8.5 percent for the SPO. In the Leskovac constituency 53.2 percent of voters are undecided, while 31.2 percent would vote for the SPS, 7.8 percent would vote for the SRS, and 3.5 percent for the SPO. In the Nis constituency, 48.5 percent of voters are undecided and 31.4 percent of voters would vote for the SPS, 7.7 percent for the DS, 8 percent for the Radicals, 2.1 percent for the SPO, and 1.3 percent for the DSS.

Otherwise, 42.4 percent of voters in Novi Sad are undecided, 37.9 percent are undecided in Pristina, and 40.7 percent in Smederevo. The "Partner" survey says that the SPS has the largest number of supporters in the other constituencies too.

In Leskovac and Smederevo they are followed by the SPO, in Uzice by the DS and the DSS, and by the Radicals in Pristina.

Serbs Challenge Decisions of Subotica Authorities

AU1511092493 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Milenko Ilic]

[Excerpt] [Studio announcer] The public in Subotica and at large has recently been disturbed by a decision made by the coalition of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians and the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats in the Subotica assembly to change the statute of the commune. Let us recall, Subotica will mark a new date as its day, and in addition to Serbian and Hungarian, Croatian has also been introduced as an official language.

[Ilic] After the Subotica communal assembly adopted changes to the communal statue last week, according to which Croatian became official language alongside Serbian and Hungarian, and according to which the town will celebrate as its day 1 September, when, under the Austro-Hungarian empire, Subotica became a free royal town in 1779, Dragan Bozinovic, head of the North Backa Okrug, prepared a request for the Constitutional Court of Serbia to examine whether these decisions are constitutional. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Rail Transport Paralyzed by Strike

LD1111103593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0834 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—A strike by the independent trade union of train drivers and railway controllers of the Belgrade Railways, which began at 1800 yesterday, has continued this morning. [passage omitted]

In practical terms, this means that all train services were cancelled this morning because 3,000 train drivers and approximately 19,000 railway controllers are on strike. Zivko Cujic, a representative of the strike committee, said that the strike will not end before "a common language" with the Belgrade Railways management is found and a decision is passed to increase personal incomes and pay them out on a regular basis.

Lack of Natural Gas Brings Factories to Halt

AU1511090093 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 93 p 10

[Report by Momcilo Cebalovic: "Gas Only for Heating, Factories Halt Production"]

[Excerpt] The first colder wave this autumn—and the winter has not even started yet—with temperatures below 10 degrees, has already created problems with heating. In Belgrade, the largest city in the country, with a population of 2 million, there were few people who had heating yesterday. The events in the relevant bodies in Serbia, where a discussion was held yesterday on the distribution of the few energy-providers we have, particularly natural gas, point at quite a few considerable problems.

According to knowledgeable sources, NIS [Oil Industry of Serbia] is already using up 120,000 cubic meters of gas an hour, which is the maximum that can be produced at the Vojvodina fields. That does not even begin to meet the needs of the factories and heating plants, however, so an order was issued yesterday that all the factories were

to halt production, except those producing food, medicine .... Smederevo SARTID is on the list of the "privileged" companies, and yesterday the gas delivered to it was even increased from 6,000 to 9,000 cubic meters of gas an hour so it can complete its urgently needed production. Even Pancevo Azotara, contrary to the predictions of its managers, is winding down this year's production as it lacks natural gas. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

TANJUG on Arms Smuggling by Albanian Separatists

LD1411123893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0112 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The arrest of a group of citizens of the Albanian nationality at the beginning of this week, among other things for arms smuggling, has turned the attention of the public in Macedonia to the ever increasing illegal import of arms and various items of military equipment into this republic, and especially the western part of it [where most ethnic Albanians live]. According to police and legal sources, in the last year and a half alone, 30 consignments of various modern arms, ammunition, military camouflage clothing, and bulletproof vests have been discovered. Two hundred rifles, over 1,000 pistols, 50 special rifles, 25 rifles with sights, 25,000 pieces of different types of ammunition, and other light weapons and shells have been seized.

The smugglers who have been caught—mainly of Albanian nationality—justify their actions by the need to obtain money to support their large families. Salih Drugoli from Skopje, for example, justified his attempt at illegally bringing into the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [BJRM] two machine guns, 12 bombs, about 10 guns with sights, six automatic rifles and one semi- automatic rifle, 1,500 pieces of ammunition, 25 full clips for an automatic rifle, and a large number of pistols—by the need to look after his family.

Arms smuggling channels discovered so far, show that this is being done in an organized way, with the aim of jeopardizing the new state and of realizing the idea of the creation of the republic of Ilirida, as the first step toward creating a greater Albania.

A big problem for the BJRM, however, is the amount of weapons that have remained undiscovered, and the number of smugglers who have gone unpunished. Those in the know say that there are many arms smuggling channels and that they are, in the main, brought in via Albania, Bulgaria, and via the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija. Weaponry that succeeds in crossing the border continues its journey mainly toward Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo, Debar, Struga, and Ohrid.

Albanian Parties Statement

LD1211232793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—The Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] today issued the first statement in response to the recent arrest of a group of citizens of Albanian nationality accused of importing arms from Albania and attempting to create paramilitary formations of about 20,000 people. The party's statement claims that the illegal trade in arms and the formation of paramilitary troops culminated in Macedonia following the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Macedonia. The PDP regards the reason for this as the feeling of insecurity due to which Macedonian citizens tried to organize themselves to ensure their own safety and the safety of their families.

According to the PDP, this was normal at that time, but today, when there is a Macedonian army, this is no longer normal. The statement recalls that the citizens of Macedonia are equal regardless of their nationality, and should consequently be treated in the same way when they violate the law. In the statement, only the sentence that "various groups have been arrested before as well" refers to the recent arrest, and the statement concludes that the PDP will not give up its program to fight for respect for the rights of Albanians living in Macedonia, but it will advocate democratic and institutionalized ways of achieving that.

The other Albanian party in the coalition government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—the People's Democratic Party [NDP]—claims that the arrest of the citizens of Albanian nationality is "a political process staged in order to discredit the Albanians before a possible new international conference on the former Yugoslavia."

The media in Skopje today pay special attention to the mysterious disappearance of Deputy Health Minister Imer Imeri, who was names in initial reports as one of the detainees. His name is not on the official list of the arrested, but although it is claimed that eight people have been arrested, the list contains only seven names. Officials in the Health Ministry say that they do not know where Imer is.

'All Spheres' of Cooperation Planned With Turkey

LD1211132093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—The defence ministers of Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have established cooperation, Macedonian Defence Minister Vlado Popovski said upon his return from a three-day official visit to Ankara on Thursday evening [11 November].

Popovski said his talks with his Turkish counterpart Mehmet Golhan [title as received] had been successful and that "Turkey is a factor of stability in the Balkans."

The Turkish minister said that his country will train officers of the Macedonian Army, and both sides expressed interest in developing links between the "two friendly countries in all spheres."

REUTER cites the Turkish foreign minister as telling Macedonian state radio on Wednesday that in case the war in the other parts of former Yugoslavia spreads to Macedonia, Turkey will be "forced to become involved."

This caused the immediate reaction of Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Teodoros Pangalos who told the Turkish minister to "consult his Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin who announced in Brussels that his country would intervene only at the request of the United Nations."

As opposed to Turkey, which was among the first to recognize the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macaedonia since its secession from the former Yugoslav Federation in early 1992, Greece has refused to do this until the Skopje government changes the republic's name as there already exists the Province of Macedonia in northern Greece.

Party Comments on Arrest of Paramilitaries

AU1211094393 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 11 Nov 93 p 5

[Report by V.V.: "The Security Situation is Disturbing"]

[Text] Bearing in mind the disturbing security situation in the republic, we request an urgent session of the Macedonian parliament and we believe it is worthwhile to have a security council in the organization of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov to oversee security in the Republic of Macedonia. This was stated at a news conference given yesterday by the delegate group of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Party-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity].

According to the information from VMRO-DPMNE, in carrying out its duties, the Interior Ministry had obtained basic information on the creation of paramilitary formations consisting of 20,000 persons, with its headquarters in Tetovo, Ljupco Georgievski, the leader of this party stated. He also emphasized that this information shows "clearly and unambiguously" that the paramilitary organizations were directly managed by the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and under the control of the Albanian Defense Ministry. Georgievski assessed these activities as a major operation in which the active Macedonian Army officers of Albanian origin took part.

The aims of the paramilitary formations, according to the VMRO-DPMNE delegate group, are the mass liquidation of the Macedonians in western Macedonia and the liquidation of members of the Macedonian Army. The delegate group expressed the hope that the whole incident will not be kept under wraps, that is to say, that it will not turn into a case of the ordinary smuggling of a couple of rifles and bombs.

Albanian President Pleased With Gligorov Message

LD1011223993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 10 November (TANJUG)—The representative of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Albania, Viktor Gaber, today handed a personal message by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov to Albanian President Sali Berisha, it has been announced in Skopje.

Berisha expressed thanks for the message and expressed satisfaction with the development of friendly relations between the two states despite, as he said, certain problems in the transitional period.

Gaber was also received by Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi in Tirana today.

Montenegro

Lekic Trip to UK Deemed 'Complete Fiasco'

AU1111092393 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 93 p 11

[Commentary by Miodrag Vukmanovic: "Worn-Out Schemes"]

[Text] The foreign policy activities of the Government of Montenegro, or rather its appropriate ministry, which politically naive Montenegrins are very proud of, are increasingly becoming tangled up in a network of bad improvisations. The visit by Foreign Minister [Miodrag] Lekic to London was obviously a complete fiasco. Announced suddenly as a day-long trip, which leaves the impression of urgency and conspiracy, but without specifying who sent the invitation, especially since the Montenegrin minister officially planned to meet with his colleague Hurd, this visit seems to have been arranged more for domestic policy needs in Montenegro rather than because there were some practical reasons for it. This doubt is prompted by the fact that a delegation from the Montenegrin democratic opposition will soon be visiting the British capital at the government's invitation—and not only the British capital.

Europe's growing interest in the Montenegrin state issue has been increasing in proportion to the inability of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation to organize itself as a democratic state. Even those countries which for domestic reasons have been hesitating in giving open support to aspirations for Montenegrin independence (for those not acquainted with the history of Montenegrin statehood, this has an unpopular undertone of secession) are not concealing their sympathies for the liberal-democratic revival in Montenegro. In European diplomatic circles, there is an insignificant number of

people who are prepared to deny the citizens of Montenegro the right to an independent state, on the condition that the majority freely votes for this. The Montenegrin democratic opposition is not even asking for anything other than for the Montenegrin issue to be settled with a referendum that would be held under regular democratic conditions. In this sense, it is seeking the support of the world, and it is likely that it will get it.

In an attempt to take the diplomatic initiative and perhaps forestall the impression that the emissaries of the Montenegrin democratic opposition might leave in London, Minister Lekic succeeded in getting to Douglas Hogg, undersecretary in the British Foreign Office. After he had cautiously explained that the "independent voice" of Montenegro does not mean leaving the joint state with Serbia, Minister Lekic asked for the lifting of the sanctions "against Yugoslavia" to begin because he said that Izetbegovic was responsible for the inability to attain peace in Bosnia. On the British side, several diplomatic blows followed, with which the guest "did not agree." What he said to Undersecretary Hogg, Lekic repeated with the same success to Minister Hurd, who had granted him a meeting on his way from Luxembourg to New York. This was the only result of the visit. In order to stop enemies from gloating, a rumor was started in Podgorica about some serious British condemnations of "Montenegrin separatists."

Minister Lekic—who has the reputation of being a career Montenegrin—must have been especially hit by the remark made by Undersecretary Hogg that there have been no democratic changes in Yugoslavia. It is not important whether the Briton mentioned "Yugoslavia" as vaguely as TANJUG reported, but he certainly did not intend to blame the Montenegrin minister for the lack of democracy in Croatia or Macedonia. The minister definitely knows that without a successful domestic policy, he has nothing to gain on the international stage. To judge by media reaction, the British and everyone else in the European Community are not exactly fascinated by democratic actions like the dissolution of the Serbian Parliament out of fear that the government would fall. While DEUTSCHE WELLE, for example, calls Milosevic "the well-known confidence trickster" and Paris FIGARO says that "the political authorities in Serbia are endeavoring to portray a more acceptable face than the previous one of a heterogeneous alliance of gangsters, mafiosi, and criminals" (what a feel for nuances!), the London TIMES suggested that the president of Serbia should be clearly told that undemocratic elections will not produce easier conditions from the world in order to crush the dogs of war that he himself let off the leash."

In such an international mood with regard to the authorities in Serbia, the ruling party in Montenegro is beginning to emit new quantities of loyalty to Milosevic's company with the desire to jointly resist "extreme political currents," which are still called "fascist" in socialist jargon. In Serbia, these are primarily Seselj's Radicals, natural fascists without a theoretical basis; but what is interesting from the point of view of logic, in Montenegro these are the people who have most frequently opposed Seselj's bestiality and misdeeds.

This scheme can no longer be sold abroad. Although the West knows that in Serbia the epithet "democratic" is realistically deserved only by some marginal parties, few people will swallow the bait of "anti-fascism." The absence of democratic changes in Montenegro will no longer be able to be justified by "an independent voice that does not mean leaving the joint state." A joint state also implies joint responsibility and joint toleration of the international sanctions, which Montenegro can in no way rid itself of with verbal exhibitions by its local diplomats.

Kosovo

Ethnic Albanians To Boycott Serbian Election

LD1211132593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Pristina, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] says Albanians are not going to vote in the elections in Serbia. He reiterates that this is the stand adopted by the DSK and all the other political parties rallying Albanians in Kosovo.

At today's news conference, he described the "elections as yet another trick played by the Serbian regime to consolidate its position." Rugova said that the Albanians would gain nothing by voting in the elections.

Rugova said that "that the political trial of the group of high-ranking officials in the Government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYRM] and political activists, recently arrested in Skopje, seeks to defame their political parties and vilify the Albanians in the Balkans."

The Albanians, Rugova noted, are being depicted as a destabilizing factor in the FYRM, too, just as they were in the former Yugoslavia and still are in Serbia.

The DSK leader opposes Greece's interference in Serbian-Albanian relations and those between Macedonians and Albanians. In this context he demands of the international community to pay more attention to these events in Skopje.

Asked about Serbia's role in all this, Rugova said that Serbia perhaps wanted to destabilize Macedonia and then mediate in its dispute with Greece. He said that he nevertheless hoped that the FYRM would know how to pursue independent policies and pay more attention to the Albanians in this republic.

Rugova: Serbia's Aim 'To Destabilize Macedonia'

AU1211174093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Report by Shaban Arifaj]

[Announcer] President of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held his regular news conference in Prishtina today. Let us listen to a report by correspondent Shaban Arifaj:

[Arifaj] At the beginning of the regular news conference, the president of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, spoke about the arrests of several Albanians that had occurred in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Rugova said that this was a fabricated political process and aims to compromise Albanian personnel in Macedonian institutions. It was carried out in accordance with scenarios already known in Kosova. It is Serbia's aim to destabilize Macedonia. These arrests were made after Milosevic's statements following his meeting with [Greek Foreign Minister] Papoulias. In this way, Dr. Rugova continued, attempts are being made to send Albanians to fatality [fatalizoj] so that they can be represented as destabilizing factors in the Balkans. This represents Albanophobia, not only among Serbs but also among other neighbors of Albanians.

President Rugova discounted accusations made against Albania and Kosova concerning the latest arrests in Macedonia as stereotypical Yugoslav communist ideology, and warned that in the Balkans there should be no military provocations, remarks that he addressed to Greece, and said that that was the way to new tragedies.

Later, Rugova said that the Balkans could survive only on the basis of integration and agreements, which is why he was asking the international community to show more consideration for the Albanians.

After speaking about the new wave of violence and terror against the Albanians of Kosova, President Rugova thanked Helsinki Watch for [words indistinct], in which it is requested to stop the violence and terror against the Albanians of Kosova, thus restating that Kosova is an international question and requires examination at all conferences and their levels.

Regarding the elections in Serbia, President Rugova once again stressed that the Albanians would not participate, which is the attitude of all the Albanian political parties [words indistinct], which have held their elections. These elections, which are a game to strengthen the present [word indistinct], will not bring us anything, Rugova said.

Regarding the Franco-German initiative to lift the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro step by step, President Rugova said:

[Begin Rugova recording] We have no information on this, but of course this is a Franco-German effort to find a [word indistinct] to continue the talks. I do not think that the sanctions will be abolished automatically. Of course, the attitude of other countries is that the sanctions are defined by the Security Council and it is up to it to decide about them. [end recording]

Meanwhile, the demand by President Sali Berisha that Serbia should [word indistinct] with the legitimate representatives of Kosova, Dr. Rugova assessed it as a normal request within the context of the solution to the Albanian-Serbian problems.

At the end of this regular news conference, the president of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, said that he would soon be traveling to France if the documentation could be arranged for the purpose. This will also be a tour of some other European countries, President Rugova concluded.

Rugova Obtains Passport; To Visit France 'Soon'

AU1211193293 Paris AFP in English 1836 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Nov 12 (AFP)—Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the majority Albanian community in the Serbian province of Kosovo, said Friday [12 November] that he had finally obtained a passport and would be leaving for France soon.

Last week Rugova, head of the Kosovo Democratic League, was unable to take up an invitation from French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe because the authorities refused to give him a passport. [passage omitted]